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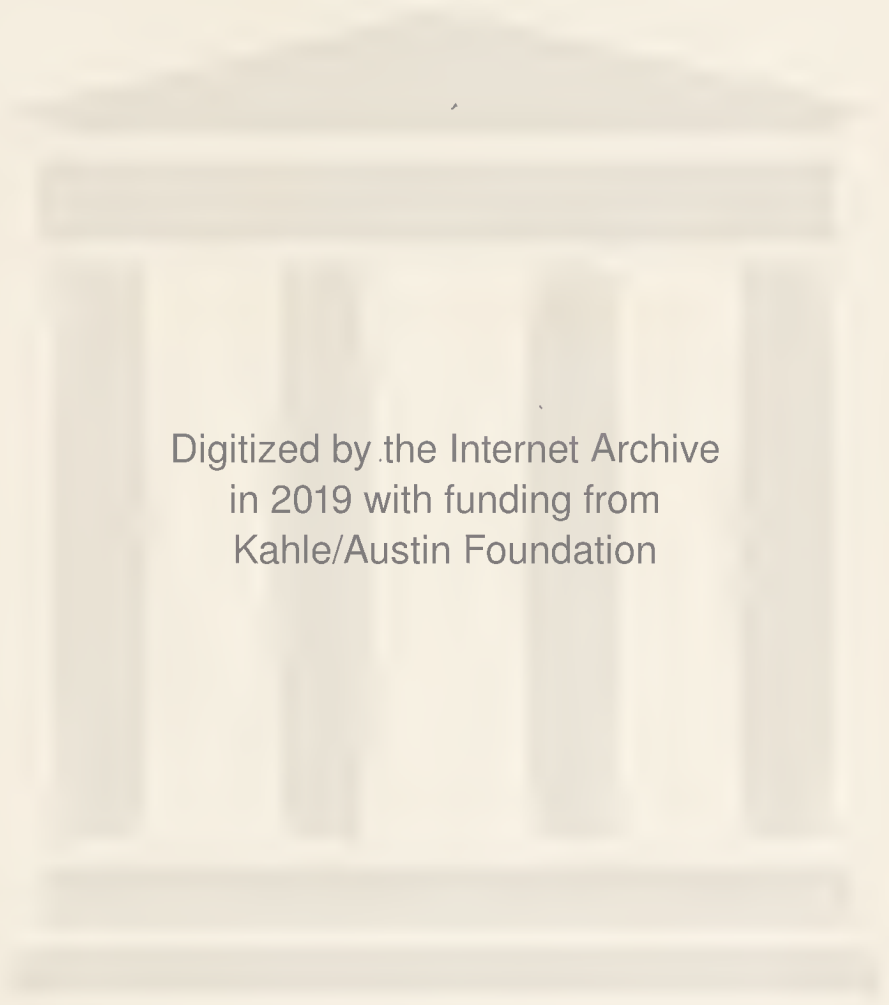
Lucy Cook.  
1900.



My dear

1880





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# The History of England

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES  
THE SECOND

BY

LORD MACAULAY

With an Introduction by

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Professor of European History, University of  
Pennsylvania

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VOLUME VII.

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ILLUSTRATED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND







# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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## CHAPTER XVI

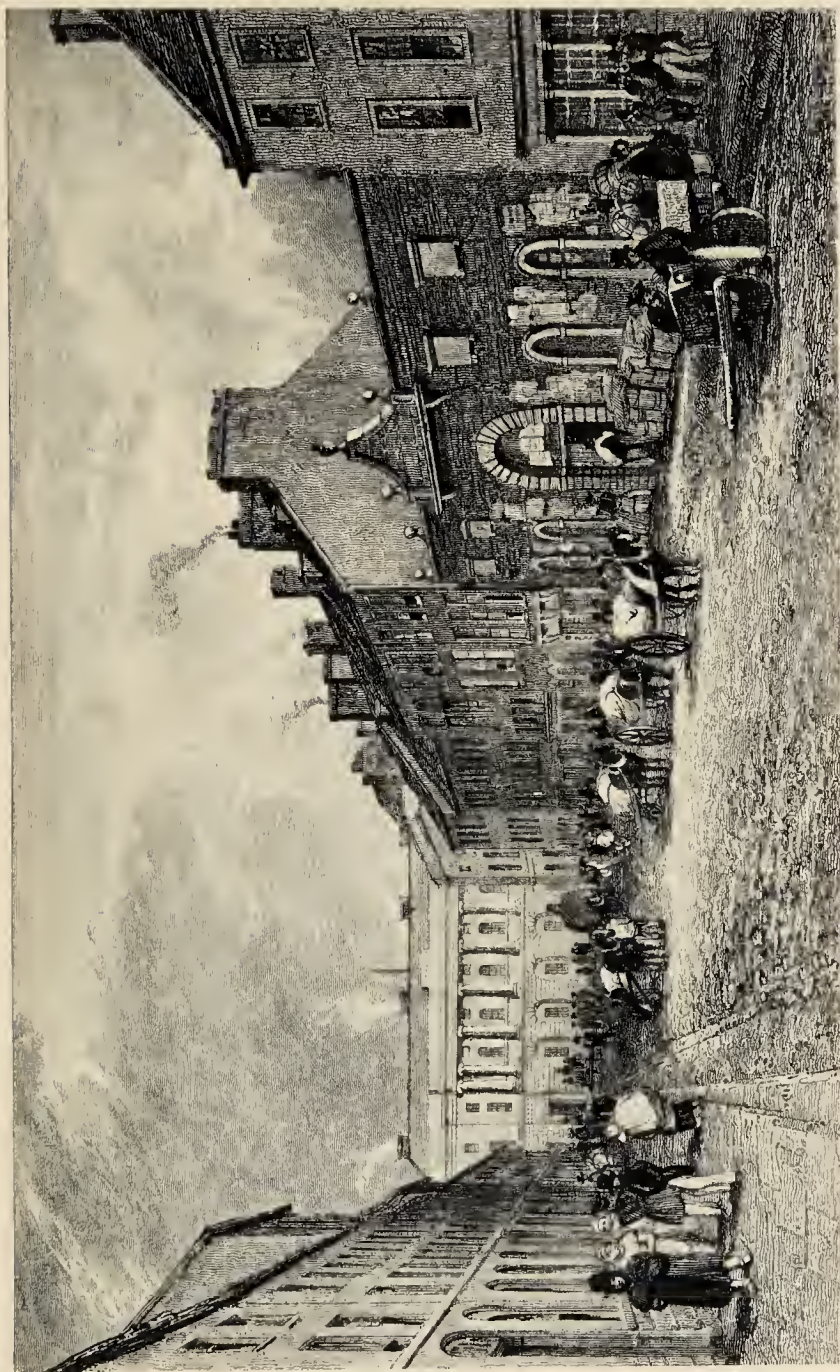
### WILLIAM AND MARY (*Continued*)

WILLIAM had been, during the whole spring, impatiently expected in Ulster. The Protestant settlements along the coast of that province had, in the course of the month of May, been repeatedly agitated by false reports of his arrival.

William lands  
at Carrickfer-  
gus, and pro-  
ceeds to Bel-  
fast.

It was not, however, till the afternoon of the fourteenth of June that he landed at Carrickfergus. The inhabitants of the town crowded the main street and greeted him with loud acclamations : but they caught only a glimpse of him. As soon as he was on dry ground he mounted and set off for Belfast. On the road he was met by Schomberg. The meeting took place close to a white house, the only human dwelling then visible in the space of many miles, on the dreary strand of the estuary of the Laggan. A village and a cotton-mill now rise where the white house then stood alone ; and all the

shore is adorned by a gay succession of country-houses, shrubberies, and flower-beds. Belfast has become one of the greatest and most flourishing seats of industry in the British Isles. A busy population of a hundred thousand souls is collected there. The duties annually paid at the Custom-house exceed the duties annually paid at the Custom-house of London in the most prosperous years of the reign of Charles the Second. Other Irish towns may present more picturesque forms to the eye. But Belfast is the only large Irish town in which the traveller is not disgusted by the loathsome aspect and odor of long lines of human dens far inferior in comfort and cleanliness to the dwellings which, in happier countries, are provided for cattle. No other large Irish town is so well cleaned, so well paved, so brilliantly lighted. The place of domes and spires is supplied by edifices less pleasing to the taste, but not less indicative of prosperity, huge factories, towering many stories above the chimneys of the houses, and resounding with the roar of machinery. The Belfast which William entered was a small English settlement of about three hundred houses, commanded by a castle which has long disappeared, the seat of the noble family of Chichester. In this mansion, which is said to have borne some resemblance to the palace of Whitehall, and which was celebrated for its terraces and orchards stretching down to the river-side, preparations had been made for the King's reception. He was welcomed at the North Gate by the magistrates and burgesses in their robes of office. The multitude pressed on his carriage with shouts of "God save the Protestant King !" For the town was one of the strongholds of the Reformed faith ; and when, two generations later,







the inhabitants were, for the first time, numbered, it was found that the Roman Catholics were not more than one in fifteen.<sup>1</sup>

The night came : but the Protestant counties were awake and up. A royal salute had been fired from the Castle of Belfast. It had been echoed and re-echoed by guns which Schomberg had placed at wide intervals for the purpose of conveying signals from post to post. Wherever the peal was heard, it was known that King William was come. Before midnight all the heights of Antrim and Down were blazing with bonfires. The light was seen across the bays of Carlingford and Dundalk, and gave notice to the outposts of the enemy that the decisive hour was at hand. Within forty-eight hours after William had landed, James set out from Dublin for the Irish camp, which was pitched near the northern frontier of Leinster.<sup>2</sup>

In Dublin the agitation was fearful. None could doubt that the decisive crisis was approaching ; and the agony of suspense stimulated to the highest point the passions of both the hostile castes. The majority could easily detect, in the looks and tones of the oppressed minority, signs which

State of  
Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, June 19, 1690 ; *History of the Wars in Ireland by an Officer in the Royal Army*, 1690 ; *Villare Hibernicum*, 1690 ; *Story's Impartial History*, 1691 ; *Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Belfast*, 1817. This work contains curious extracts from MSS. of the seventeenth century. In the British Museum is a map of Belfast made in 1685, so exact that the houses may be counted.

<sup>2</sup> Lauzun to Louvois, June  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{6}{8}$ . The messenger who brought the news to Lauzun had heard the guns and seen the bonfires. *History of the Wars in Ireland by an Officer of the Royal Army*, 1690 ; *Life of James*, ii., 392, Orig. Mem. ; Burnet, ii.,

indicated the hope of a speedy deliverance and of a terrible revenge. Simon Luttrell, to whom the care of the capital was intrusted, hastened to take such precautions as fear and hatred dictated. A proclamation appeared, enjoining all Protestants to remain in their houses from nightfall to dawn, and prohibiting them, on pain of death, from assembling in any place or for any purpose to the number of more than five. No indulgence was granted even to those divines of the Established Church who had never ceased to teach the doctrine of non-resistance. Doctor William King, who had, after long holding out, lately begun to waver in his political creed, was committed to custody. There was no jail large enough to hold one-half of those whom the governor suspected of evil designs. The College and several parish churches were used as prisons; and into those buildings men accused of no crime but their religion were crowded in such numbers that they could hardly breathe.<sup>1</sup>

The two rival princes meanwhile were busied in collecting their forces. Loughbrickland was the place  
 William's appointed by William for the rendezvous of  
 military ar- the scattered divisions of his army. While  
 rangements. his troops were assembling, he exerted himself indefatigably to improve their discipline and to provide for their subsistence. He had brought from England two hundred thousand pounds in money, and

47. Burnet is strangely mistaken when he says that William had been six days in Ireland before his arrival was known to James.

<sup>1</sup> *A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs of Ireland by a Person of Quality*, 1690; King, iii., 18. Luttrell's proclamation will be found in King's Appendix.

a great quantity of ammunition and provisions. Pil-laging was prohibited under severe penalties. At the same time supplies were liberally dispensed ; and all the paymasters of regiments were directed to send in their accounts without delay, in order that there might be no arrears.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Coningsby, Member of Parliament for Leominster, a busy and unscrupulous Whig, accompanied the King, and acted as Paymaster-general. It deserves to be mentioned that William, at this time, authorized the Collector of Customs at Belfast to pay every year twelve hundred pounds into the hands of some of the principal dissenting ministers of Down and Antrim, who were to be trustees for their brethren. The King declared that he bestowed this sum on the non-conformist divines, partly as a reward for their eminent loyalty to him, and partly as a compensation for their recent losses. Such was the origin of that donation, which is still annually bestowed by the government on the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster.<sup>2</sup>

William was all himself again. His spirits, depressed by eighteen months passed in dull state, amidst factions and intrigues which he but half understood, rose high as soon as he was surrounded by tents and standards.<sup>3</sup> It was strange to see how rapidly this man, so unpopular at Westminster, obtained a complete mastery over the hearts of his brethren in arms. They observed

<sup>1</sup> *Villare Hibernicum*, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> The order addressed to the Collector of Customs will be found in Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*.

<sup>3</sup> La gayeté peinte sur son visage," says Dumont, who saw him at Belfast, " nous fit tout espérer pour les heureux succès de la campagne."



with delight that, infirm as he was, he took his share of every hardship which they underwent ; that he thought more of their comfort than of his own ; that he sharply reprimanded some officers, who were so anxious to procure luxuries for his table as to forget the wants of the common soldiers ; that he never once, from the day on which he took the field, lodged in a house, but, even in the neighborhood of cities and palaces, slept in his small travelling-hut of wood ; that no solicitations could induce him, on a hot day, and in a high wind, to move out of the choking cloud of dust which overhung the line of march, and which severely tried lungs less delicate than his. Every man under his command became familiar with his looks and with his voice ; for there was not a regiment which he did not inspect with minute attention. His pleasant looks and sayings were long remembered. One brave soldier has recorded in his journal the kind and courteous manner in which a basket of the first cherries of the year was accepted from him by the King, and the sprightliness with which His Majesty conversed at supper with those who stood round the table.<sup>1</sup>

On the twenty-fourth of June, the tenth day after William's landing, he marched southward from Loughbrickland with all his forces. He was fully determined to take the first opportunity of fighting. Schomberg and several other officers recommended caution and delay. But the King answered that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. The event seems to prove that he judged rightly as a general. That he judged

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Impartial Account* ; MS. Journal of Colonel Bellingham ; *The Royal Diary*.

rightly as a statesman cannot be doubted. He knew that the English nation was discontented with the way in which the war had hitherto been conducted, that nothing but rapid and splendid success could revive the enthusiasm of his friends and quell the spirit of his enemies, and that a defeat could scarcely be more injurious to his fame and to his interests than a languid and indecisive campaign.

The country through which he advanced had, during eighteen months, been fearfully wasted both by soldiers and by Rapparees. The cattle had been slaughtered : the plantations had been cut down : the fences and houses were in ruins. Not a human being was to be found near the road, except a few naked and meagre wretches who had no food but the husks of oats, and who were seen picking those husks, like chickens, from amidst dust and cinders.<sup>1</sup> Yet, even under such disadvantages, the natural fertility of the country, the rich green of the earth, the bays and rivers so admirably fitted for trade, could not but strike the King's observant eye. Perhaps he thought how different an aspect that unhappy region would have presented if it had been blessed with such a government and such a religion as had made his native Holland the wonder of the world ; how endless a succession of pleasure-houses, tulip gardens, and dairy farms would have lined the road from Lisburn to Belfast ; how many hundreds of barges would have been constantly passing up and down the Laggan ; what a forest of masts would have bristled in the desolate port of Newry ; and what vast warehouses and stately mansions would have covered the space occupied by the noisome alleys of Dundalk.

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Impartial Account*.

“The country,” he was heard to say, “is worth fighting for.”

The original intention of James seems to have been to try the chances of a pitched field on the border between Leinster and Ulster. But this design was abandoned, in consequence, apparently, of the representations of Lauzun, who, though very little disposed and very little qualified to conduct a campaign on the Fabian system, had the admonitions of Louvois still in his ears.<sup>1</sup> James though resolved not to give up Dublin without a battle, consented to retreat till he should reach some spot where he might have the vantage of ground. When, therefore, William’s advance guard reached Dundalk, nothing was to be seen of the Irish army, except a great cloud of dust which was slowly rolling southward toward Ardee. The English halted one night near the ground on which Schomberg’s camp had been pitched in the preceding year; and many sad recollections were awakened by the sight of that dreary marsh, the sepulchre of thousands of brave men.<sup>2</sup>

Still William continued to push forward, and still the Irish receded before him, till, on the morning of Monday, the thirtieth of June, his army, marching in three columns, reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern frontier of the county of Louth. Beneath lay a valley, now so rich and so cheerful that the Englishman who gazes on it may imagine himself to be in one of the most highly favored parts of his own highly favored country. Fields of wheat, woodlands,

<sup>1</sup> Lauzun to Louvois, <sup>June 23,</sup>  
<sup>July 3,</sup> 1690; *Life of James*, ii., 393, Orig. Mem.    <sup>2</sup> Story’s *Impartial Account*; Dumont MS.

meadows bright with daisies and clover, slope gently down to the edge of the Boyne. That bright and tranquil stream, the boundary of Louth and Meath, having flowed many miles between green banks crowned by modern palaces, and by the ruined keeps of old Norman barons of the pale, is here about to mingle with the sea. Five miles to the west of the place from which William looked down on the river, now stands, on a verdant bank, amidst noble woods, Slane Castle, the mansion of the Marquess of Conyngham. Two miles to the east, a cloud of smoke from factories and steam-vessels overhangs the busy town and port of Drogheda. On the Meath side of the Boyne, the ground, still all corn, grass, flowers, and foliage, rises with a gentle swell to an eminence surmounted by a conspicuous tuft of ash-trees, which overshades the ruined church and desolate graveyard of Donore.<sup>1</sup>

In the seventeenth century the landscape presented a very different aspect. The traces of art and industry were few. Scarcely a vessel was on the river except those rude coracles of wicker-work covered with the skins of horses, in which the Celtic peasantry fished for trout and salmon. Drogheda, now peopled by twenty thousand industrious inhabitants, was a small knot of narrow, crooked, and filthy lanes, encircled by a ditch and a mound. The houses were built of wood, with high gables and projecting upper stories. Without the walls of the town scarcely a dwelling was to be seen, except at a place called Oldbridge. At Oldbridge the

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting the field of battle and the surrounding country will be found in Mr. Wilde's pleasing volume entitled *The Beauties of the Boyne and Black-water*.



river was fordable : and on the south of the ford were a few mud cabins, and a single house built of more solid materials.

When William caught sight of the valley of the Boyne, he could not suppress an exclamation and gesture of delight. He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war till the autumnal rains should return with pestilence in their train. He was now at ease. It was plain that the contest would be sharp and short. The pavilion of James was pitched on the eminence of Donore. The flags of the House of Stuart and of the House of Bourbon waved together in defiance on the walls of Drogheda. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the hostile army. Thousands of armed men were moving about among the tents ; and every one, horse-soldier or foot-soldier, French or Irish, had a white badge in his hat. That color had been chosen in compliment to the House of Bourbon. " I am glad to see you, gentlemen," said the King, as his keen eye surveyed the Irish lines. " If you escape me now the fault will be mine." <sup>1</sup>

Each of the contending princes had some advantages over his rival. James, standing on the defensive behind intrenchments, with a river before him, had the stronger position <sup>2</sup>: but his troops were inferior both in number and in

The Irish  
make a stand  
at the Boyne.

The army  
of James.

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum in the handwriting of Alexander, Earl of Marchmont. He derived his information from Lord Selkirk, who was in William's army.

<sup>2</sup> James says (*Life*, ii., 393, Orig. Mem.) that the country afforded no better position. King, in a thanksgiving sermon

quality to those which were opposed to him. He probably had thirty thousand men. About a third part of this force consisted of excellent French infantry and excellent Irish cavalry. But the rest of his army was the scoff of all Europe. The Irish dragoons were bad ; the Irish foot worse. It was said that their ordinary way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then to run away bawling "Quarter !" and "Murder !" Their inefficiency was, in that age, commonly imputed, both by their enemies and by their allies, to natural poltroonery. How little ground there was for such an imputation has since been signally proved by many brave achievements in every part of the globe. It ought, indeed, even in the seventeenth century, to have occurred to reasonable men that a race which furnished some of the best horse-soldiers in the world would certainly, with judicious training, furnish good foot-soldiers. But the Irish foot-soldiers had not merely not been well trained: they had been elaborately ill-trained. The greatest of our generals repeatedly and emphatically declared that even the admirable army which fought its way, under his command, from Torres Vedras to Toulouse, would, if he had suffered it to contract habits of pillage, have become, in a few

which he preached at Dublin after the close of the campaign, told his hearers that "the advantage of the post of the Irish was, by all intelligent men, reckoned above three to one." See King's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached on Nov. 16, 1690, before the Lords-justices. This is, no doubt, an absurd exaggeration. But M. de la Hoguette, one of the principal French officers who was present at the battle of the Boyne, informed Louvois that the Irish army occupied a good defensive position. Letter of La Hoguette from Limerick, <sup>July 31,</sup> Aug. 10, 1690.

weeks, unfit for all military purposes. What, then, was likely to be the character of troops who, from the day on which they enlisted, were not merely permitted, but invited, to supply the deficiencies of pay by marauding? They were, as might have been expected, a mere mob, furious indeed, and clamorous in their zeal for the cause which they had espoused, but incapable of opposing a steadfast resistance to a well-ordered force. In truth, all that the discipline, if it is to be so called, of James's army had done for the Celtic kern had been to debase and enervate him. After eighteen months of nominal soldiership, he was positively farther from being a soldier than on the day on which he quitted his hovel for the camp.

William had under his command near thirty-six thousand men, born in many lands, and speaking many tongues. Scarcely one Protestant Church, scarcely one Protestant nation, was unrepresented in the army which a strange series of events had brought to fight for the Protestant religion in the remotest island of the West. About half the troops were natives of England. Ormond was there with the Life Guards, and Oxford with the Blues. Sir John Lanier, an officer who had acquired military experience on the Continent, and whose prudence was held in high esteem, was at the head of the Queen's regiment of horse, now the First Dragoon Guards. There were Beaumont's foot, who had, in defiance of the mandate of James, refused to admit Irish Papists among them, and Hastings's foot, who had, on the disastrous day of Killiecrankie, maintained the military reputation of the Saxon race. There were the two Tangier battalions, hitherto known only by deeds of violence and

The army  
of William.

rapine, but destined to begin on the following morning a long career of glory. Two fine English regiments, which had been in the service of the States-general, and had often looked death in the face under William's leading, followed him in this campaign, not only as their general, but as their native King. They now rank as the fifth and sixth of the line. The former was led by an officer who had no skill in the higher parts of military science, but whom the whole army allowed to be the bravest of all the brave, John Cutts. The Scotch foot-guards marched under the command of their countryman James Douglas. Conspicuous among the Dutch troops were Portland's and Ginkell's Horse, and Solmes's Blue regiment, consisting of two thousand of the finest infantry in Europe. Germany had sent to the field some warriors sprung from her noblest houses. Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt, a gallant youth, who was serving his apprenticeship in the military art, rode near the King. A strong brigade of Danish mercenaries was commanded by Duke Charles Frederic of Würtemberg. It was reported that of all the soldiers of William these were the most dreaded by the Irish. For centuries of Saxon domination had not effaced the recollection of the violence and cruelty of the Scandinavian sea-kings ; and an ancient prophecy that the Danes would one day destroy the children of the soil was still repeated with superstitious horror.<sup>1</sup> Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Finland regiment. But in that great army, so variously composed, were two bodies of men animated by a spirit peculiarly fierce and implacable—the Huguenots of France, thirsting for the blood of the

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell's *Diary*, March, 1690.

French, and the Englishry of Ireland, impatient to trample down the Irish. The ranks of the refugees had been effectually purged of spies and traitors, and were now made up of men such as had contended in the preceding century against the power of the House of Valois and the genius of the House of Lorraine. All the boldest spirits of the unconquerable colony had repaired to William's camp. Mitchelburne was there with the stubborn defenders of Londonderry, and Wolseley with the warriors who had raised the unanimous shout of "Advance" on the day of Newton Butler. Sir Albert Conyngham, the ancestor of the noble family whose seat now overlooks the field of battle, had brought from the neighborhood of Lough Erne a regiment of dragoons which still glories in the name of Enniskillen, and which has proved on the shores of the Euxine that it has not degenerated since the day of the Boyne.<sup>1</sup>

Walker, notwithstanding his advanced age and his peaceful profession, accompanied the men of Londonderry, and tried to animate their zeal by exhortation and by example. He was now a great prelate. Ezekiel Hopkins had taken refuge from Popish persecutors and Presbyterian rebels in the city of London, had brought himself to swear allegiance to the government, had obtained a cure, and had died in the performance of the humble duties of a parish priest.<sup>2</sup> William, on

Walker, now  
Bishop of  
Derry, ac-  
companies  
the army.

<sup>1</sup> See the historical records of the Regiments of the British army, and Story's list of the army of William as it passed in review at Finglass, a week after the battle.

<sup>2</sup> See his Funeral Sermon preached at the church of Saint Mary Aldermary on the 24th of June, 1690.



his march through Louth, learned that the rich see of Derry was at his disposal. He instantly made choice of Walker to be the new Bishop. The brave old man, during the few hours of life which remained to him, was overwhelmed with salutations and congratulations. Unhappily he had, during the siege in which he had so highly distinguished himself, contracted a passion for war ; and he easily persuaded himself that, in indulging this passion, he was discharging a duty to his country and his religion. He ought to have remembered that the peculiar circumstances which had justified him in becoming a combatant had ceased to exist, and that, in a disciplined army led by generals of long experience and great fame, a fighting divine was likely to give less help than scandal. The Bishop elect was determined to be wherever danger was ; and the way in which he exposed himself excited the extreme disgust of his royal patron, who hated a meddler almost as much as a coward. A soldier who ran away from a battle and a gownsman who pushed himself into a battle were the two objects which most strongly excited William's spleen.

It was still early in the day. The King rode slowly along the northern bank of the river, and closely examined the position of the Irish, from whom he was sometimes separated by an interval of little more than two hundred feet. He was accompanied by Schomberg, Ormond, Sidney, Solmes, Prince George of Hesse, Coningsby, and others. " Their army is but small," said one of the Dutch officers. Indeed, it did not appear to consist of more than sixteen thousand men. But it was well known, from the reports brought

William re-  
connoitres  
the Irish  
position.

by deserters, that many regiments were concealed from view by the undulations of the ground. "They may be stronger than they look," said William; "but, weak or strong, I will soon know all about them."<sup>1</sup>

At length he alighted at a spot nearly opposite to Oldbridge, sat down on the turf to rest himself, and called for breakfast. The sumpter-horses were unloaded: the canteens were opened; and a table-cloth was spread on the grass. The place is marked by an obelisk, built while many veterans who could well remember the events of that day were still living.

While William was at his repast, a group of horsemen appeared close to the water on the opposite shore.

Among them his attendants could discern some who had once been conspicuous at reviews in Hyde Park and at balls in the gallery of Whitehall—the youthful Berwick, the small, fair-haired Lauzun, Tyrconnel, once admired by maids of honor as the model of manly vigor and beauty, but now bent down by years and crippled by gout, and, overtopping all, the stately head of Sarsfield.

The chiefs of the Irish army soon discovered that the person who, surrounded by a splendid circle, was breakfasting on the opposite bank, was the Prince of Orange. They sent for artillery. Two field-pieces, screened from view by a troop of cavalry, were brought down almost to the brink of the river, and placed behind a hedge. William, who had just risen from his meal, and was again in the saddle, was the mark of both

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Impartial History; History of the Wars in Ireland by an Officer of the Royal Army; Hop to the States-general*,  
June 30,  
July 10, 1690.

guns. The first shot struck one of the holsters of Prince George of Hesse, and brought his horse to the ground. "Ah!" cried the King; "the poor Prince is killed!" As the words passed his lips, he was himself hit by a second ball, a six-pounder. It merely tore his coat, grazed his shoulder, and drew two or three ounces of blood. Both armies saw that the shot had taken effect; for the King sank down for a moment on his horse's neck. A yell of exultation rose from the Irish camp. The English and their allies were in dismay. Solmes flung himself prostrate on the earth, and burst into tears. But William's deportment soon reassured his friends. "There is no harm done," he said: "but the bullet came quite near enough." Coningsby put his handkerchief to the wound: a surgeon was sent for: a plaster was applied; and the King, as soon as the dressing was finished, rode round all the posts of his army amidst loud acclamations. Such was the energy of his spirit that, in spite of his feeble health, in spite of his recent hurt, he was that day nineteen hours on horseback.<sup>1</sup>

A cannonade was kept up on both sides till the evening. William observed with special attention the effect produced by the Irish shots on the English regiments which had never been in action, and declared himself satisfied with the result. "All is right," he said: "they stand fire well." Long after sunset he made a final inspection of his forces by torch-light, and gave

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, July 7, 1690; Story's *Impartial History*; *History of the Wars in Ireland by an Officer of the Royal Army*; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*; Lord Marchmont's *Memorandum*; Burnet, ii., 50, and Thanksgiving Sermon; Dumont MS.

orders that everything should be ready for forcing a passage across the river on the morrow. Every soldier was to put a green bough in his hat. The baggage and great-coats were to be left under a guard. The word was Westminster.

The King's resolution to attack the Irish was not approved by all his lieutenants. Schomberg, in particular, pronounced the experiment too hazardous, and, when his opinion was overruled, retired to his tent in no very good-humor. When the order of battle was delivered to him, he muttered that he had been more used to give such orders than to receive them. For this little fit of sullenness, very pardonable in a general who had won great victories when his master was still a child, the brave veteran made, on the following morning, a noble atonement.

The first of July dawned, a day which has never since returned without exciting strong emotions of very different kinds in the two populations which divide Ireland. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both armies were in motion. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, one of the Duke's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil behaved himself like a brave gentleman : but he soon received a mortal wound : his men fled ; and the English right wing passed the river.

Battle of the  
Boyne.

This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the Eng-

lish right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the Boyne was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow that two cars could not pass each other, and where on both sides of the road lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to retreat. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man. Disturbed by this apprehension, the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre of his army, which consisted almost exclusively of foot, was intrusted to the command of Schomberg, and was marshalled opposite to Oldbridge. At Oldbridge had been collected the whole Irish army, foot, dragoons, and horse, Sarsfield's regiment alone excepted. The Meath bank bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by the French engineers out of the hedges and buildings; and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water-side.<sup>1</sup> Tyrconnel was there; and under him were Richard Hamilton and Antrim.

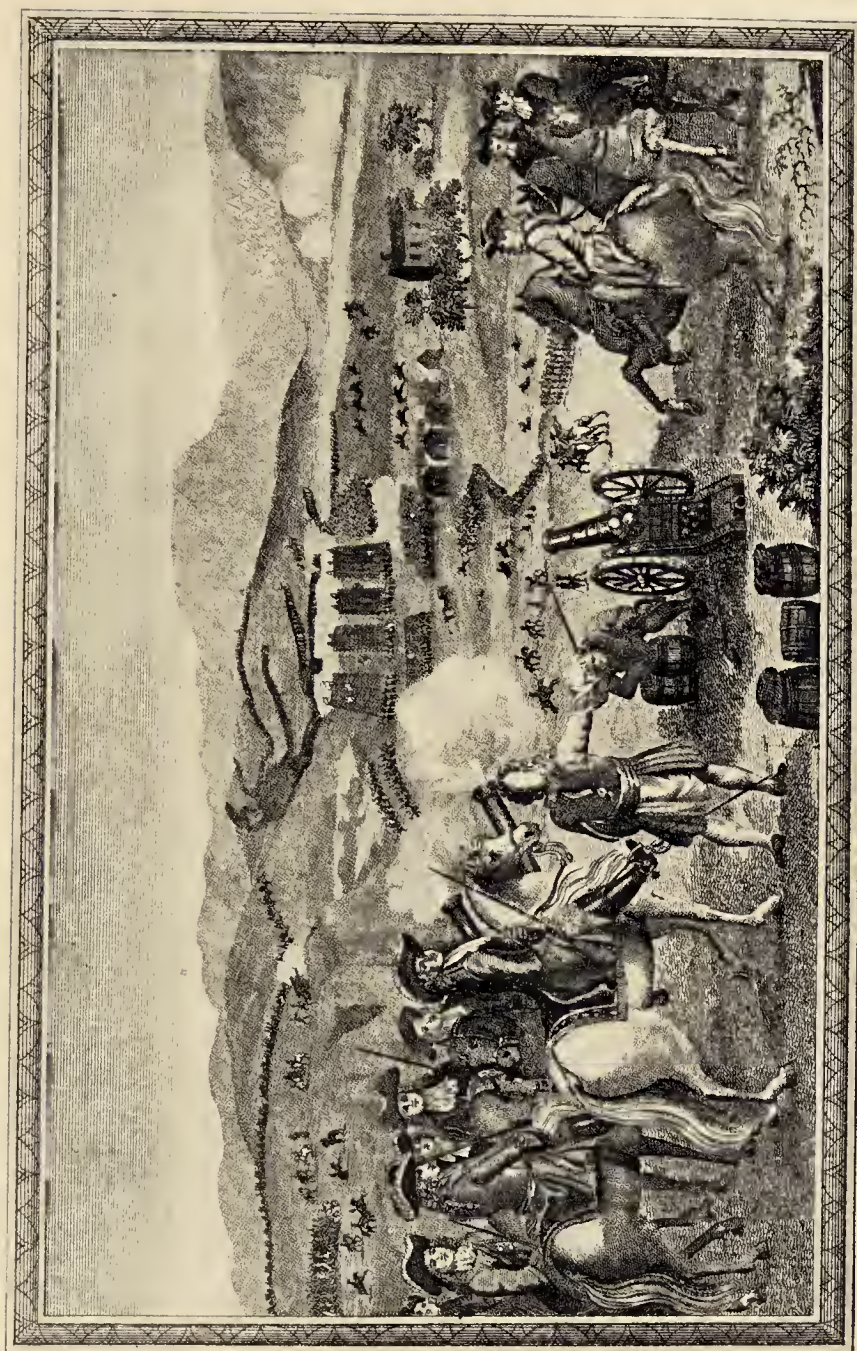
Schomberg gave the word. Solmes's Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. Then the drums stopped; and the men, ten abreast, descended into

<sup>1</sup> La Hogue to Louvois, <sup>July 31,</sup> Aug. 10, 1690.



the water. Next plunged Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left of Londonderry and Enniskillen, Caillemot crossed, at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to the left of Caillemot and his refugees, the main body of the English infantry struggled through the river, up to their armpits in water. Still farther down the stream the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes the Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs.

It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the channel that they became aware of the whole difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half the hostile army. Now whole regiments of foot and horse seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore : during one moment the event seemed doubtful : but the Protestants pressed resolutely forward ; and in another moment the whole Irish line gave way. Tyrconnel looked on in helpless despair. He did not want personal courage : but his military skill was so small that he hardly ever reviewed his regiment in the Phoenix Park without committing some blunder ; and to rally the ranks which were breaking all round him was no task for a general who had survived the energy of his body and of his mind, and yet had still the rudiments of his profession to learn. Several of his best officers fell while vainly endeavoring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Richard Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still in deep water. He led the way, and, accompanied by some courageous gentlemen, advanced,





sword in hand, into the river. But neither his commands nor his example could infuse valor into that mob of cow-stealers. He was left almost alone, and retired from the bank in despair. Farther down the river, Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colors, and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That I have done no injustice to the Irish infantry and dragoons will appear from the accounts which the French officers who were at the Boyne sent to their government and their families. La Hoguette, writing hastily to Louvois on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, says: "Je vous diray seulement, Monseigneur, que nous n'avons pas esté battus, mais que les ennemys ont chassés devant eux les troupes Irlandoises comme des moutons, sans avoir essayé un seul coup de mousquet."

Writing some weeks later more fully from Limerick, he says, "J'en meurs de honte." He admits that it would have been no easy matter to win the battle, at best. "Mais il est vray aussi," he adds, "que les Irlandois ne firent pas la moindre resistance, et plièrent sans tirer un seul coup." Zurlauben, Colonel of one of the finest regiments of the French service, wrote to the same effect, but did justice to the courage of the Irish horse, whom La Hoguette does not mention.

There is at the French War-office a letter hastily scrawled by Boisseleau, Lauzun's second in command, to his wife after the battle. He wrote thus: "Je me porte bien, ma chère feme. Ne t'inquiète pas de moy. Nos Irlandois n'ont rien fait qui vaille. Ils ont tous lâché le piè."

Desgrigny, writing on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, assigns several reasons for the defeat. "La première et la plus forte est la fuite des Irlandois qui sont en vérité des gens sur lesquels il ne faut pas compter du tout." In the same letter he says: "Il n'est pas naturel de croire qu'une armée de vingt cinq mille hommes qui paroissoit de la meilleure volonté du monde, et qui à la veue des ennemis faisoit des cris de joye, dût être entièrement



It required many years and many heroic exploits to take away the reproach which that ignominious rout left on the Irish name. Yet, even before the day closed, it was abundantly proved that the reproach was unjust. Richard Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, under his command, they made a gallant, though an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the day. They maintained a desperate fight in the bed of the river with Solmes's Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow-exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward the rear ranks, which were still up to the breast in the water. "On ; on ; my lads ! To glory ! To glory !" Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, and who had thence watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, now thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armor he rode through the river, and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on !" he cried in French, pointing to the Popish

défaite sans avoir tiré l'épée et un seul coup de mousquet. Il y a eu tel regiment tout entier qui a laissé ses habits, ses armes, et ses drapeaux sur le champ de bataille, et a gagné les montagnes avec ses officiers."

I looked in vain for the despatch in which Lauzun must have given Louvois a detailed account of the battle.



squadrons: "come on, gentlemen! there are your persecutors." Those were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him: but he was already a corpse. Two sabre-wounds were on his head; and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same moment Walker, while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, was shot dead. During near half an hour the battle continued to rage along the southern shore of the river. All was smoke, dust, and din. Old soldiers were heard to say that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But just at this conjuncture William came up with the left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the King was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand—for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage—and led his men to the place where the fight was the hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. It was long remembered among the Protestants of Ulster that, in the midst of the tumult, William rode to the head of the Enniskilleners. "What will you do for me?" he cried. He was not immediately recognized; and one trooper, taking him for an enemy, was about to fire. William gently put aside the carbine. "What!" said he, "do you not know your friends?" "It is His Majesty!" said the Colonel. The ranks of sturdy Protestant yeomen set up a shout of joy. "Gentlemen," said William, "you shall be my guards to-day.

I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you." One of the most remarkable peculiarities of this man, ordinarily so saturnine and reserved, was that danger acted on him like wine, opened his heart, loosened his tongue, and took away all appearance of constraint from his manner. On this memorable day he was seen wherever the peril was greatest. One ball struck the cap of his pistol : another carried off the heel of his jack-boot : but his lieutenants in vain implored him to retire to some station from which he could give his orders without exposing a life so valuable to Europe. His troops, animated by his example, gained ground fast. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge. There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, till William rallied them and turned the chase back. In this encounter Richard Hamilton, who had done all that could be done by valor to retrieve a reputation forfeited by perfidy,<sup>1</sup> was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and instantly brought, through the smoke and over the carnage, before the prince whom he had foully wronged. On no occasion did the character of William show itself in a more striking manner. "Is this business over?" he said; "or will your horse make more fight?" "On my honor, Sir," answered Hamilton, "I believe that they will." "Your honor!" muttered William; "your honor!" That half-suppressed exclamation was the only revenge which he condescended to take for an injury for which many sovereigns, far more affable and gracious in their ordinary deportment,

<sup>1</sup> Lanzun wrote to Seignelay, July  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, 1690, "Richard Amilton a été fait prisonnier, faisant fort bien son devoir."

would have exacted a terrible retribution. Then, restraining himself, he ordered his own surgeon to look to the hurts of the captive.<sup>1</sup>

And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. It was enough that these gallant soldiers had disputed the field till they were left without support, or hope, or guidance, till their bravest leader was a captive, and till their King had fled.

Whether James had owed his early reputation for valor to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he

<sup>1</sup> My chief materials for the history of this battle are Story's *Impartial Account and Continuation*; the *History of the War in Ireland by an Officer of the Royal Army*; the despatches in the French War-office; the *Life of James*, Orig. Mem.; Burnet, ii., 50, 60; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*; the *London Gazette* of July 10, 1690; the despatches of Hop and Baden; a narrative probably drawn up by Portland, which William sent to the States-general; Portland's private letter to Melville; Captain Richardson's Narrative and map of the battle; the Dumont MS., and the Bellingham MS. I have also seen an account of the battle in a Diary kept in bad Latin and in an almost undecipherable hand by one of the beaten army, who seems to have been a hedge school-master turned Captain. This Diary was kindly lent to me by Mr. Walker, to whom it belongs. The writer relates the misfortunes of his country in a style of which a short specimen may suffice: "1 July, 1690. O diem illum infandum, cum inimici potiti sunt pass apud Old-bridge et nos circumdederunt et fregerunt prope Plottin. Hinc omnes fugimus Dublin versus. Ego mecum tuli Cap Moore et Georgium Ogle, et venimus hac nocte Dub."

was generally believed to possess, not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene intrepidity which is the virtue of great commanders.<sup>1</sup> It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril, none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of contending nations and churches, of friends devoted to his cause and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation, were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a King come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic come to fight in the holiest of crusades. If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donore, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the

<sup>1</sup> See Pepys's *Diary*, June 4, 1664. "He tells me above all of the Duke of York, that he is more himself, and more of judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times." Clarendon repeatedly says the same. Swift wrote on the margin of his copy of Clarendon, in one place, "How old was he (James) when he turned Papist and a coward?"—in another, "He proved a cowardly Popish king."

left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted, and galloped toward Dublin. He was escorted by a body-guard under the command of Sarsfield, who had, on that day, had no opportunity of displaying the skill and courage which his enemies allowed that he possessed.<sup>1</sup> The French auxiliaries, who had been employed the whole morning in keeping William's right wing in check, covered the flight of the beaten army. They were, indeed, in some danger of being broken and swept away by the torrent of runaways, all pressing to get first to the pass of Duleek, and were forced to fire repeatedly on these despicable allies.<sup>2</sup> The retreat was, however, effected with less loss than might

<sup>1</sup> The Père Orléans mentions that Sarsfield accompanied James. The battle of the Boyne had scarcely been fought when it was made the subject of a drama, *The Royal Flight, or the Conquest of Ireland*, a Farce, 1690. Nothing more execrable was ever written, even for Bartholomew Fair. But it deserves to be remarked that, in this wretched piece, though the Irish generally are represented as poltroons, an exception is made in favor of Sarsfield. "This fellow," says James, aside, "will make me valiant, I think, in spite of my teeth." "Curse of my stars!" says Sarsfield, after the battle. "That I must be detached! I would have wrested victory out of heretic Fortune's hands."

<sup>2</sup> Both La Hogue and Zurlauben informed their government that it had been necessary to fire on the Irish fugitives, who would otherwise have thrown the French ranks into confusion.



have been expected. For even the admirers of William owned that he did not show in the pursuit the energy which even his detractors acknowledged that he had shown in the battle. Perhaps his physical infirmities, his hurt, and the fatigue which he had undergone, had made him incapable of bodily or mental exertion. Of the last forty hours he had passed thirty-five on horseback. Schomberg, who might have supplied his place, was no more. It was said in the camp that the King could not do everything, and that what was not done by him was not done at all.

The slaughter had been less than on any battle-field of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish only about fifteen hundred had fallen : but they were almost all cavalry, the flower of the army, brave and well-disciplined men, whose place could not easily be supplied. William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced those orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who asked for quarter. The King ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men : but among them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honor was paid. The only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid was that venerable Abbey, hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes, and poets. It was announced that the brave veteran would have a public funeral at Westminster. In the meantime his corpse was embalmed with such skill as could

<sup>1</sup> Baden to Van Citters, July 18, 1690.

be found in the camp, and was deposited in a leaden coffin.<sup>1</sup>

Walker was treated less respectfully. William thought him a busybody who had been properly punished for running into danger without any call of duty, and expressed that feeling, with characteristic bluntness, on the field of battle. "Sir," said an attendant, "the Bishop of Derry has been killed by a shot at the ford." "What took him there?" growled the king.

The victorious army advanced that day to Duleek, and passed the warm summer night there under the open sky. The tents and the baggage wagons were still on the north of the river. William's coach had

been brought over; and he slept in it surrounded by his soldiers. On the following day, Drogheda surrendered without a blow, and the garrison, thirteen hundred strong, marched out unarmed.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Dublin had been in violent commotion. On the thirtieth of June it was known that the armies

were face to face with the Boyne between them, and that a battle was almost inevitable. The news that William had been

wounded came that evening. The first report was that the wound was mortal. It was believed, and confidently repeated, that the usurper was no more; and, before the truth was known, couriers started bearing the glad tidings of his death to the French ships which lay in the ports of Munster. From daybreak on the first of July the streets of Dublin were filled with per-

<sup>1</sup> *New and Perfect Journal*, 1690; Luttrell's *Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> Story; *London Gazette*, July 10, 1690.

sons eagerly asking and telling news. A thousand wild rumors wandered to and fro among the crowd. A fleet of men-of-war under the white flag had been seen from the hill of Howth. An army commanded by a Marshall of France had landed in Kent. There had been hard fighting at the Boyne : but the Irish had won the day : the English right wing had been routed : the Prince of Orange was a prisoner. While the Roman Catholics heard and repeated these stories in all the places of public resort, the few Protestants who were still out of prison, afraid of being torn to pieces, shut themselves up in their inner chambers. But toward five in the afternoon a few runaways on tired horses came straggling in with evil tidings. By six it was known that all was lost. Soon after sunset, James, escorted by two hundred cavalry, rode into the Castle. At the threshold he was met by the wife of Tyrconnel, once the gay and beautiful Fanny Jennings, the loveliest coquette in the brilliant Whitehall of the Restoration. To her the vanquished King had to announce the ruin of her fortunes and of his own. And now the tide of fugitives came in fast. Till midnight all the northern avenues of the capital were choked by trains of cars and by bands of dragoons, spent with running and riding, and begrimed with dust. Some had lost their fire-arms, and some their swords. Some were disfigured by recent wounds. At two in the morning Dublin was still : but, before the early dawn of midsummer, the sleepers were roused by the peal of trumpets ; and the horse, who had, on the preceding day, so well supported the honor of their country, came pouring through the streets, with ranks fearfully thinned, yet preserving, even in that extremity, some

show of military order. Two hours later, Lauzun's drums were heard ; and the French regiments, in unbroken array, marched into the city.<sup>1</sup> Many thought that, with such a force, a stand might still be made. But before six o'clock the Lord Mayor and some of the principal Roman Catholic citizens were summoned in haste to the Castle. James took leave of them with a speech which did him little honor. He had often, he said, been warned that Irishmen, however well they might look, would never acquit themselves well on a field of battle ; and he had now found that the warning was but too true. He had been so unfortunate as to see himself in less than two years abandoned by two armies. His English troops had not wanted courage : but they had wanted loyalty. His Irish troops were, no doubt, attached to his cause, which was their own. But as soon as they were brought front to front with an enemy they ran away. The loss, indeed, had been little. More shame for those who had fled with so little loss. " I will never command an Irish army again. I must shift for myself ; and so must you." After thus reviling his soldiers for being the rabble which his own mismanagement had made them, and for following the example of cowardice which he had himself set them, he uttered a few words more worthy of a King. He knew, he said, that some of his adherents had declared that they would burn Dublin down rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the English. Such an act would disgrace him in the eyes of all mankind : for nobody would believe that his friends would venture so far without his sanction.

<sup>1</sup> *True and Perfect Journal ; Villare Hibernicum ; Story's Impartial History.*

Such an act would also draw on those who committed it severities which otherwise they had no cause to apprehend : for inhumanity to vanquished enemies was not among the faults of the Prince of Orange. For these reasons James charged his hearers on their allegiance neither to sack nor to destroy the city.<sup>1</sup> He then took his departure, crossed the Wicklow hills with all speed, and never stopped till he was fifty miles from Dublin. Scarcely had he alighted to take some refreshment when he was scared by an absurd report that the pursuers were close upon him. He started again, rode hard all night, and gave orders that the bridges should be pulled down behind him. At sunrise on the third of July he reached the harbor of Waterford. Thence he went by sea to Kinsale, where he embarked on board of a French frigate, and sailed for Brest.<sup>2</sup>

James flies  
to France.

After his departure the confusion in Dublin increased hourly. During the whole of the day which followed the battle, flying foot-soldiers, weary and soiled with travel, were constantly coming in. Roman Catholic citizens, with their wives, their families, and their household stuff, were constantly going out. In some parts of the capital there was still an appearance of martial order and preparedness. Guards were posted at the gates : the Castle was occupied by a strong body of troops ; and it was generally supposed that the enemy would not be admitted without a struggle. Indeed, some

Dublin evacuated  
by the  
French and  
Irish troops.

<sup>1</sup> Story ; *True and Perfect Journal* ; *London Gazette*, July 10, 1690 ; Burnet, ii., 51 ; Leslie's Answer to King.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 404, Orig. Mem. ; *Monthly Mercury* for August, 1690.



swaggerers, who had a few hours before run from the breastwork at Oldbridge without drawing a trigger, now swore that they would lay the town in ashes rather than leave it to the Prince of Orange. But toward the evening Tyrconnel and Lauzun collected all their forces, and marched out of the city by the road leading to that vast sheepwalk which extends over the tableland of Kildare. Instantly the face of things in Dublin was changed. The Protestants everywhere came forth from their hiding-places. Some of them entered the houses of their persecutors and demanded arms. The doors of the prisons were opened. The Bishops of Meath and Limerick, Doctor King, and others, who had long held the doctrine of passive obedience, but who had at length been converted by oppression into moderate Whigs, formed themselves into a provisional government, and sent a messenger to William's camp, with the news that Dublin was prepared to welcome him. At eight that evening a troop of English dragoons arrived. They were met by the whole Protestant population on College Green, where the statue of the deliverer now stands. Hundreds embraced the soldiers, hung fondly about the necks of the horses, and ran wildly about, shaking hands with each other. On the morrow a large body of cavalry arrived; and soon from every side came news of the effects which the victory of the Boyne had produced. James had quitted the island. Wexford had declared for King William. Within twenty-five miles of the capital there was not a Papist in arms. Almost all the baggage and stores of the defeated army were seized by the conquerors. The Enniskilleners had taken not less than three hundred cars, and had found among the booty ten thousand

pounds in money, much plate, many valuable trinkets, and all the rich camp equipage of Tyrconnel and Lauzun.<sup>1</sup>

William fixed his headquarters at Finglass, about two miles from Dublin. Thence, on the morning of Sunday, the sixth of July, he rode in great state to the cathedral, and there, with the crown on his head, returned public thanks to God in the choir which is now hung with the banners of the Knights of Saint Patrick. There the remains of Schomberg were deposited, as it was then thought, only for a time ; and there they still remain. Doctor King preached, with all the fervor of a neophyte, on the great deliverance which God had wrought for the Church. The Protestant magistrates of the city appeared again, after a long interval, in the pomp of office. William could not be persuaded to repose himself at the Castle, but in the evening returned to his camp, and slept there in his wooden cabin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *True and Perfect Journal* ; *London Gazette*, July 10 and 14, 1690 ; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*. In the *Life of James Bonnell, Accountant-general of Ireland* (1703), is a remarkable religious meditation, from which I will quote a short passage. "How did we see the Protestants on the great day of our Revolution, Thursday the third of July, a day ever to be remembered by us with the greatest thankfulness, congratulate and embrace one another as they met, like persons alive from the dead, like brothers and sisters meeting after a long absence, and going about from house to house to give each other joy of God's great mercy, inquiring of one another how they past the late days of distress and terror, what apprehensions they had, what fears or dangers they were under ; those that were prisoners, how they got their liberty, how they were treated, and what, from time to time, they thought of things."

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, July 14, 1690 ; Story ; *True and Perfect*

The fame of these great events flew fast, and excited strong emotions all over Europe. The news of William's wound everywhere preceded by a few hours the news of his victory. Paris was roused at dead of night by the arrival of a courier who brought the joyful intelligence that the heretic, the parricide, the mortal enemy of the greatness of France, had been struck dead by a cannon-ball in the sight of the two armies. The commissaries of police ran about the city, knocked at the doors, and called the people up to illuminate. In an hour streets, quays, and bridges were in a blaze: drums were beating and trumpets sounding: the bells of Notre Dame were ringing: peals of cannon were resounding from the batteries of the Bastile. Tables were set out in the streets; and wine was served to all who passed. A Prince of Orange made of straw was trailed through the mud, and at last committed to the flames. He was attended by a hideous effigy of the devil, carrying a scroll, on which was written, "I have been waiting for thee these two years." The shops of several Huguenots, who had been dragooned into calling themselves Catholics, but who were suspected of being still heretics at heart, were sacked by the rabble. It was hardly safe to question the truth of the report which had been so eagerly welcomed by the multitude. Soon, however, some cool-headed people ventured to remark that the fact of the tyrant's death was not quite so certain as

*Journal*; Dumont MS. Dumont is the only person who mentions the crown. As he was present, he could not be mistaken. It was probably the crown which James had been in the habit of wearing when he appeared on the throne at the King's Inns.

Effect produced in France by the news from Ireland.

might be wished. Then arose a vehement controversy about the effect of such wounds : for the vulgar notion was that no person struck by a cannon-ball on the shoulder could recover. The disputants appealed to medical authority ; and the doors of the great surgeons and physicians were thronged, it was jocosely said, as if there had been a pestilence in Paris. The question was soon settled by a letter from James, which announced his defeat and his arrival at Brest.<sup>1</sup>

At Rome the news from Ireland produced a sensation of a very different kind. There, too, the report of William's death was, during a short time, credited. At the French embassy all was joy and triumph : but the Ambassadors of the House of Austria were in despair ; and the aspect of the Pontifical Court by no means indicated exultation.<sup>2</sup> Melfort, in a transport of joy, sat down to write a letter of congratulation to Mary of Modena. That letter is still extant, and would alone suffice to explain why he was the favorite of James. Herod, so William was designated, was gone. There must be a restoration ; and that restoration ought to be followed by a terrible revenge and by the establishment of despotism. The power of the purse must be taken away from the Commons. Politi-

Effect produced at Rome by the news from Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Mercury* for August, 1690 ; Burnet, ii., 50 ; Dangeau, Aug. 2, 1690, and Saint Simon's note ; *The Follies of France, or a True Relation of the Extravagant Rejoicings, &c.*, dated Paris, Aug. 8, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> "Me tiene," the Marquis of Cogolludo, Spanish minister at Rome, says of this report, "en sumo cuidado y desconsuelo, pues esta seria la ultima ruina de la causa comun."—Cogolludo to Ronquillo, Rome, Aug. 2, 1690.

cal offenders must be tried, not by juries, but by judges on whom the crown could depend. The Habeas Corpus Act must be rescinded. The authors of the Revolution must be punished with merciless severity. "If," the cruel apostate wrote, "if the King is forced to pardon, let it be as few rogues as he can."<sup>1</sup> After the lapse of some anxious hours, a messenger bearing later and more authentic intelligence alighted at the palace occupied by the representative of the Catholic King. In a moment all was changed. The enemies of France—and all the population, except Frenchmen and British Jacobites, were her enemies—eagerly felicitated one another. All the clerks of the Spanish legation were too few to make transcripts of the despatches for the Cardinals and Bishops who were impatient to know the details of the victory. The first copy was sent to the Pope, and was doubtless welcome to him.<sup>2</sup>

The good news from Ireland reached London at a moment when good news was needed. The English flag had been disgraced in the English seas. A foreign enemy threatened the coast. Traitors were at work within the realm. Mary had exerted herself beyond her strength. Her gentle nature was unequal to the cruel anxieties of her position ; and she com-

Effect produced in London by the news from Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Original Letters published by Sir Henry Ellis.

<sup>2</sup> "Del sucesso de Irlanda doy a v. Exca la enorabuena, y le aseguro no ha bastado casi la gente que tengo en la Secretaria para repartir copias dello, pues le he embiado a todo el lugar, y la primera al Papa."—Cogolludo to Ronquillo, postscript to the letter of Aug. 2. Cogolludo, of course, uses the new style. The tidings of the battle, therefore, had been three weeks in getting to Rome.



plained that she could scarcely snatch a moment from business to calm herself by prayer. Her distress rose to the highest point when she learned that the camps of her father and her husband were pitched near to each other, and that tidings of a battle might be hourly expected. She stole time for a visit to Kensington, and had three hours of quiet in the garden, then a rural solitude.<sup>1</sup> But the recollection of days passed there with him whom she might never see again overpowered her. "The place," she wrote to him, "made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company. But now I will say no more : for I shall hurt my own eyes, which I want now more than ever. Adieu. Think of me and love me as much as I shall you, whom I love more than my life."<sup>2</sup>

Early on the morning after these tender lines had been despatched, Whitehall was roused by the arrival of a post from Ireland. Nottingham was called out of bed. The Queen, who was just going to the chapel where she daily attended divine service, was informed that William had been wounded. She had wept much : but till that moment she had wept alone, and had constrained herself to show a cheerful countenance to her court and council. But when Nottingham put her husband's letter into her hands, she burst into tears. She was still trembling with the violence of her emotions, and had scarcely finished a letter to William, in which she poured out her love, her fears, and her thankfulness, with the sweet natural eloquence of her sex, when another messenger arrived with the news that the English army had forced a passage across the

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn (Feb. 25, 1690) calls it "a sweet villa."

<sup>2</sup> Mary to William, July 5, 1690.

Boyne, that the Irish were flying in confusion, and that the King was well. Yet she was visibly uneasy till Nottingham had assured her that James was safe. The grave secretary, who seems to have really esteemed and loved her, afterward described with much feeling that struggle of filial duty with conjugal affection. On the same day she wrote to adjure her husband to see that no harm befell her father. "I know," she said, "I need not beg you to let him be taken care of: for I am confident you will for your own sake: yet add that to all your kindness; and, for my sake, let people know you would have no hurt happen to his person."<sup>1</sup> This solicitude, though amiable, was superfluous. Her father was perfectly competent to take care of himself. He had never, during the battle, run the smallest risk of hurt; and, while his daughter was shuddering at the dangers to which she fancied that he was exposed in Ireland, he was half way on his voyage to France.

It chanced that the glad tidings arrived at Whitehall on the day to which the Parliament stood prorogued. The Speaker and several members of the House of Commons who were in London met, according to form, at ten in the morning, and were summoned by Black Rod to the bar of the Peers. The Parliament was then again prorogued by commission. As soon as this ceremony had been performed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer put into the hands of the clerk the despatch which had just arrived from Ireland, and the clerk read it with a loud voice to the Lords and gentlemen present.<sup>2</sup> The good news spread rapidly from Westminster

<sup>1</sup> Mary to William, July 6 and 7, 1690; Burnet, ii., 55.

<sup>2</sup> Baden to Van Citters, July 18, 1690.

Hall to all the coffee-houses, and was received with transports of joy. For those Englishmen who wished to see an English army beaten, and an English colony extirpated by the French and Irish, were a minority even of the Jacobite party.

On the ninth day after the battle of the Boyne James landed at Brest, with an excellent appetite, in high spirits, and in a talkative humor. He told the history of his defeat to everybody who would listen to him. But French officers who understood war, and who compared his story with other accounts, pronounced that, though His Majesty had witnessed the battle, he knew nothing about it, except that his army had been routed.<sup>1</sup> From Brest he proceeded to Saint Germain, where, a few hours after his arrival, he was visited by Lewis. The French King had too much delicacy and generosity to utter a word which could sound like reproach. Nothing, he declared, that could conduce to the comfort of the royal family of England should be wanting, as far as his power extended. But he was by no means disposed to listen to the political and military projects of his unlucky guests. James recommended an immediate descent on England. That kingdom, he said, had been drained of troops by the demands of Ireland. The seven

James arrives  
in France:  
his reception  
there.

<sup>1</sup> See two letters annexed to the *Memoirs of the Intendant Foucault*, and printed in the work of M. de Sirtena de Grovestins. In the archives of the War-office at Paris is a letter written from Brest by the Count of Bouridal on July  $\frac{11}{2}$ , 1690. The Count says: "Par la relation du combat que j'ay entendu faire au Roy d'Angleterre et à plusieurs de sa suite en particulier, il ne me paroît pas qu'il soit bien informé de tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette action, et qu'il ne sçait que la déroute de ses troupes."

or eight thousand regular soldiers who were left would be unable to withstand a great French army. The people were ashamed of their error, and impatient to repair it. As soon as their rightful King showed himself, they would rally round him in multitudes.<sup>1</sup> Lewis was too polite and good-natured to express what he must have felt. He contented himself with answering coldly that he could not decide upon any plan about the British Islands till he had heard from his generals in Ireland. James was importunate, and seemed to think himself ill used, because, a fortnight after he had run away from one army, he was not intrusted with another. Lewis was not to be provoked into uttering an unkind or uncourteous word : but he was resolute ; and, in order to avoid solicitations which gave him pain, he pretended to be unwell. During some time, whenever James came to Versailles, he was respectfully informed that His Most Christian Majesty was unequal to the transaction of business. The high-spirited and quick-witted nobles who daily crowded the ante-chambers could not help sneering while they bowed low to the royal visitor, whose poltroonery and stupidity had a second time made him an exile and a mendicant. They even whispered their sarcasms loud enough to call up the haughty blood of Este in the cheeks of Mary of Modena. But her husband stood among the scoffers serene and well pleased with himself. Contempt, says the fine Indian proverb, pierces through the shell of the

<sup>1</sup> It was not only on this occasion that James held this language. From one of the letters quoted in the last note it appears that on his road from Brest to Paris he told everybody that the English were impatiently expecting him. "*Ce pauvre prince croit que ses sujets l'aiment encore.*"

tortoise : but the insensibility of James was proof even against contempt.<sup>1</sup>

While he was enduring with ignominious fortitude the polite scorn of the French aristocracy, and doing his best to weary out his benefactor's patience and good-breeding by repeating that this was the very moment for an invasion of England, and that the whole island was impatiently expecting its foreign deliverers, events were passing which signally proved how little the banished oppressor understood the character of his countrymen.

Tourville had, since the battle of Beachy Head, ranged the Channel unopposed. On the twenty-first of July his masts were seen from the rocks of Portland. On the twenty-second he anchored in the harbor of Torbay, under the same heights which had, not many months before, sheltered the armament of William. The French fleet, which now had a considerable number of troops on board, consisted of a hundred and eleven sail. The galleys, which formed a large part of this force, resembled rather those ships with which Alcibiades and Lysander disputed the sovereignty of the Ægean than those which contended at the Nile and at Trafalgar. The galley was very long and very narrow, the deck not more than two feet from the water edge. Each galley was propelled by fifty or sixty huge oars, and each oar was tugged by five or six slaves. The full complement of slaves to a vessel was three hundred and thirty-six ; the full complement of officers and soldiers a hundred and fifty. Of the unhappy rowers,

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 411, 412 ; Burnet, ii., 57, and Dartmouth's note.



some were criminals who had been justly condemned to a life of hardship and danger : a few had been guilty only of adhering obstinately to the Huguenot worship : the great majority were purchased bondsmen, generally Turks and Moors. They were, of course, always forming plans for massacring their tyrants and escaping from servitude, and could be kept in order only by constant stripes, and by the frequent infliction of death in horrible forms. An Englishman who happened to fall in with about twelve hundred of these most miserable and most desperate of human beings on their road from Marseilles to join Tourville's squadron heard them vowing that, if they came near a man-of-war bearing the cross of Saint George, they would never again see a French dock-yard.<sup>1</sup>

In the Mediterranean Sea galleys were in ordinary use : but none had ever before been tossed on the stormy ocean which roars round our island. The flatterers of Lewis said that the appearance of such a squadron on the Atlantic was one of those wonders which were reserved for his reign ; and a medal was struck at Paris to commemorate this bold experiment in maritime war.<sup>2</sup> English sailors, with more reason, predicted that the first gale would send the whole of his fair-weather armament to the bottom of the Channel. Indeed, the galley, like the ancient trireme, generally kept close to the shore, and ventured out of sight of land only when the water was unruffled and the sky serene. But

<sup>1</sup> See the articles *Galère* and *Galérien*, in the *Encyclopédie*, with the plates ; *A True Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarities of the French upon the English Prisoners of War*, by R. Hutton, licensed June 27, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> See the Collection of Medals of Lewis the Fourteenth.

the qualities which made this sort of ship unfit to brave tempests and billows made it peculiarly fit for the purpose of landing soldiers. Tourville determined to try what effect would be produced by a disembarkation. The English Jacobites who had taken refuge in France were all confident that the whole population of the island was ready to rally round an invading army; and he probably gave them credit for understanding the temper of their countrymen.

Never was there a greater error. Indeed the French admiral is said by tradition to have received, while he was still out at sea, a lesson which might have taught him not to rely on the assurances of exiles. He picked up a fishing-boat, and interrogated the owner, a plain Sussex man, about the sentiments of the nation. "Are you," Tourville asked, "for King James?" "I do not know much about such matters," answered the fisherman. "I have nothing to say against King James. He is a very worthy gentleman, I believe. God bless him!" "A good fellow!" said Tourville: "then I am sure you will have no objection to take service with us." "What!" cried the prisoner; "go with the French to fight against the English! Your honor must excuse me. I could not do it to save my life."<sup>1</sup> This poor fisherman, whether he was a real or an imaginary person, spoke the sense of the nation. The beacon on the ridge overlooking Teignmouth was kindled: the High Tor and Causland made answer; and soon all the hill-tops of the West were on fire.

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote, true or false, was current at the time, or soon after. In 1745 it was mentioned as a story which old people had heard in their youth. It is quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year from another periodical work.





Messengers were riding hard all night from Deputy Lieutenant to Deputy Lieutenant. Early the next morning, without chief, without summons, five hundred gentlemen and yeomen, armed and mounted, had assembled on the summit of Haldon Hill. In twenty-four hours all Devonshire was up. Every road in the country from sea to sea was covered by multitudes of fighting-men, all with their faces set toward Torbay. The lords of a hundred manors, proud of their long pedigreees and old coats-of-arms, took the field at the head of their tenantry—Drakes, Prideauxes, and Rolles, Fowell of Fowelscombe and Fulford of Fulford, Sir Bouchier Wrey of Tawstock Park and Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle. Letters written by several of the Deputy Lieutenants who were most active during this anxious week are still preserved. All these letters agree in extolling the courage and enthusiasm of the people. But all agree, also, in expressing the most painful solicitude as to the result of an encounter between a raw militia and veterans who had served under Turenne and Luxemburg ; and all call for the help of regular troops, in language very unlike that which, when the pressure of danger was not felt, country gentlemen were then in the habit of using about standing armies.

Tourville, finding that the whole population was united as one man against him, contented himself with sending his galleys to ravage Teignmouth, an unfortified market-town which had given no provocation and could make no defence.

Teignmouth  
destroyed.

A short cannonade put the inhabitants to flight. Seventeen hundred landed and marched into the deserted streets. More than a hundred houses were burned to



the ground. The cattle were slaughtered. The barks and fishing-smacks which lay in the river were destroyed. Two parish churches were sacked, the Bibles and Prayer-books torn and scattered about the roads, the pulpits and communion-tables demolished. By this time sixteen or seventeen thousand Devonshire men had encamped close to the shore ; and all the neighboring counties had risen. The tin-mines of Cornwall had sent forth a great multitude of rude and hardy men mortally hostile to Popery. Ten thousand of them had just signed an address to the Queen, in which they had promised to stand by her against every enemy ; and they now kept their word.<sup>1</sup> In truth, the whole nation was stirred. Two-and-twenty troops of cavalry, furnished by Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, were reviewed by Mary at Hounslow, and were complimented by Marlborough on their martial appearance. The militia of Kent and Surrey encamped on Blackheath.<sup>2</sup> Van Citters informed the States-general that all England was up in arms, on foot or on horseback, that the disastrous event of the battle of Beachy Head had not cowed but exasperated the people, and that every company of soldiers which he passed on the road were shouting with one voice, " God bless King William and Queen Mary ! " <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, July 7, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> I give this interesting passage in Van Citters's own words. " Door geheel het ryk alles te voet en te paarde in de wapenen op was ; en't gene een seer groote gerustheyt gaf was dat alle en een yder even seer tegen de Franse door de laatste voor-gevallen bataille verbittert en geanimeert waren. Gelyk door

Charles Granville, Lord Lansdowne, eldest son of the Earl of Bath, came with some troops from the garrison of Plymouth to take the command of the tumultuary army which had assembled round the basin of Torbay. Lansdowne was no novice. He had served several hard campaigns against the common enemy of Christendom, and had been created a Count of the Roman Empire in reward of the valor which he had displayed on that memorable day, sung by Filicaja and by Waller, when the infidels retired from the walls of Vienna. He made preparations for action; but the French did not choose to attack him, and were, indeed, impatient to depart. They found some difficulty in getting away. One day the wind was averse to the sailing-vessels. Another day the water was too rough for the galleys. At length the fleet stood out to sea. As the line of ships turned the lofty cape which overlooks Torquay, an incident happened which, though slight in itself, greatly interested the thousands who lined the coast. Two wretched slaves disengaged themselves from an oar, and sprang overboard. One of them perished. The other, after struggling more than an hour in the water, came safe to English ground, and was cordially welcomed by a population to which the discipline of the galleys was a thing strange and shocking. He proved to be a Turk, and was humanely sent back to his own country.

A pompous description of the expedition appeared in the Paris Gazette. But, in truth, Tourville's exploits

de troupes, dewelke ik op de weg alomme gepasseert ben, niet anders heb kunnen hooren als een eenpaarig en generaal geluydt van God bless King William en Queen Mary." July 25,  
Aug. 4, 1690.

had been inglorious, and yet less inglorious than impolitic. The injury which he had done bore no proportion to the resentment which he had roused.

Excitement  
of the Eng-  
lish nation  
against the  
French.

Hitherto the Jacobites had tried to persuade the nation that the French would come as friends and deliverers, would observe strict discipline, would respect the temples and the ceremonies of the established religion, and would depart as soon as the Dutch oppressors had been expelled and the ancient constitution of the realm restored. The short visit of Tourville to our coast had shown how little reason there was to expect such moderation from the soldiers of Lewis. They had been in our island only a few hours, and had occupied only a few acres. But within a few hours and a few acres had been exhibited in miniature the devastation of the Palatinate. What had happened was communicated to the whole kingdom far more rapidly than by gazettes or news-letters. A brief for the relief of the people of Teignmouth was read in all the ten thousand parish churches of the land. No congregation could hear without emotion that the Popish marauders had made desolate the habitations of quiet fishermen and peasants, had outraged the altars of God, had torn to pieces the Gospels and the Liturgy. A street, built out of the contributions of the charitable, on the site of the dwellings which the invaders had destroyed, still retains the name of French Street.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to this expedition I have consulted the *London Gazettes* of July 24, 28, 31, Aug. 4, 1690; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*; Welwood's *Mercurius Reformatus*, Sept. 5; the *Gazette de Paris*; a letter from Mr. Duke, a Deputy Lieutenant of Devonshire, to Hampden, dated July 25; a letter from Mr. Fulford of

The outcry against those who were, with good reason, suspected of having invited the enemy to make a descent on our shores was vehement and general, and was swollen by many voices which had recently been loud in clamor against the government of William. The question had ceased to be a question between two dynasties, and had become a question between England and France. So strong was the national sentiment that nonjurors and Papists shared or affected to share it. Dryden, not long after the burning of Teignmouth, laid a play at the feet of Halifax, with a dedication eminently ingenious, artful, and eloquent. The dramatist congratulated his patron on having taken shelter in a calm haven from the storms of public life, and, with great force and beauty of diction, magnified the felicity of the statesman who exchanges the bustle of office and the fame of oratory for philosophic studies and domestic endearments. England could not complain that she was defrauded of the service to which she had a right. Even the severe discipline of ancient

Fulford to Lord Nottingham, dated July 26 ; a letter of the same date from the Deputy Lieutenants of Devonshire to the Earl of Bath ; a letter of the same date from Lord Lansdowne to the Earl of Bath. These four letters are among the MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy. Mr. Jordan of Teignmouth has kindly sent me a copy of the brief, which has enabled me to correct some errors of detail into which I had been led by documents less authentic. Dangeau inserted in his *Journal*, August 16, a series of extravagant lies. Tourville had routed the militia, taken their cannon and colors, burned men-of-war, captured richly laden merchant-ships, and was going to destroy Plymouth. This is a fair specimen of Dangeau's English news. Indeed, he complains that it was hardly possible to get at true information about England.

Rome permitted a soldier, after many campaigns, to claim his dismissal ; and Halifax had surely done enough for his country to be entitled to the same privilege. But the poet added that there was one case in which the Roman veteran, even after his discharge, was required to resume his shield and his pilum ; and that one case was a Gallic invasion. That a writer who had purchased the smiles of James by apostasy, who had been driven in disgrace from the court of William, and who had a deeper interest in the restoration of the exiled House than any man who made letters his calling, should have used such language as this, is a fact which may convince us that the determination never to be subjugated by foreigners was fixed in the hearts of the people.<sup>1</sup>

There was, indeed, a Jacobite literature in which no trace of this patriotic spirit can be detected—a litera-

**The Jacobite Press.**

ture the remains of which prove that there were Englishmen perfectly willing to see the English flag dishonored, the English soil invaded, the English capital sacked, the English crown worn by a vassal of Lewis, if only they might avenge themselves on their enemies, and especially on William, whom they hated with a hatred half frightful, half ludicrous. But this literature was not altogether a work of darkness. The law by which the Parliament of James had subjected the press to the control of censors was still in force ; and, though the officers whose business it was to prevent the infraction of that law were not extreme to mark every irregularity committed by a bookseller who understood the art of conveying a guinea in a squeeze of the hand, they could not wink

<sup>1</sup> Dedication of Arthur.



at the open vending of unlicensed pamphlets filled with ribald insults to the Sovereign, and with direct instigations to rebellion. But there had long lurked in the garrets of London a class of printers who worked steadily at their calling with precautions resembling those employed by coiners and forgers. Women were on the watch to give the alarm by their screams if an officer appeared near the workshop. The press was immediately pushed into a closet behind the bed : the types were flung into the coal-hole, and covered with cinders : the compositor disappeared through a trap-door in the roof, and made off over the tiles of the neighboring houses. In these dens were manufactured treasonable works of all classes and sizes, from half-penny broadsides of doggerel verse up to massy quartos filled with Hebrew quotations. It was not safe to exhibit such publications openly on a counter. They were sold only by trusty agents, and in secret places. Some tracts, which were thought likely to produce a great effect, were given away in immense numbers at the expense of wealthy Jacobites. Sometimes a paper was thrust under a door, sometimes dropped on the table of a coffee-house. One day a thousand copies of a scurrilous pamphlet went out by the post-bags. On another day, when the shopkeepers rose early to take down their shutters, they found the whole of Fleet Street and the Strand white with seditious hand-bills.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the accounts of Anderton's Trial, 1693 ; the *Postman* of March 12, 1695<sup>5</sup> ; the *Flying Post* of March 7, 1700 : *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson*, by Hicks, 1695. The appendix to these Discourses contains a curious account of the inquisition into printing-offices under the Licensing Act.

Of the numerous performances which were ushered into the world by such shifts as these, none produced a greater sensation than a little book which  
 The Jacobite  
 Form of  
 Prayer and  
 Humiliation. purported to be a form of prayer and humili-  
 ation for the use of the persecuted Church. It was impossible to doubt that a considerable sum had been expended on this work. Ten thousand copies were, by various means, scattered over the kingdom. No more mendacious, more malignant, or more impious lampoon was ever penned. Though the government had as yet treated its enemies with a lenity unprecedented in the history of our country, though not a single person had, since the Revolution, suffered death for any political offence, the authors of this Liturgy were not ashamed to pray that God would assuage their enemy's insatiable thirst for blood, or would, if any more of them were to be brought through the Red Sea to the Land of Promise, prepare them for the passage.<sup>1</sup> They complained that the Church of England, once the perfection of beauty, had become a scorn and derision, a heap of ruins, a vineyard of wild grapes ; that her services had ceased to deserve the name of public worship ; that the bread and wine which she dispensed had no longer any sacramental virtue ; that her priests, in the act of swearing fealty to the usurper, had lost the sacred character which had been conferred on them by their ordination.<sup>2</sup> James was profanely

<sup>1</sup> This was the ordinary cant of the Jacobites. A Whig writer had justly said in the preceding year, " They scurrilously call our David a man of blood, though, to this day, he has not suffered a drop to be spilt."—Mephibosheth and Ziba, licensed Aug. 30, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> " Restore unto us again the publick worship of thy name,

described as the stone which foolish builders had rejected ; and a fervent petition was put up that Providence would again make him the head of the corner. The blessings which were called down on our country were of a singular description. There was something very like a prayer for another Bloody Circuit—" Give the King the necks of his enemies " : there was something very like a prayer for a French invasion—" Raise him up friends abroad " : and there was a more mysterious prayer, the best comment on which was afterward furnished by the Assassination Plot—" Do some great thing for him, which we in particular know not how to pray for." <sup>1</sup>

This Liturgy was composed, circulated, and read, it is said, in some congregations of Jacobite schismatics before William set out for Ireland, but did not attract general notice till the appearance of a foreign armament on our coast had roused the national spirit. Then rose a roar of indignation against the Englishmen who had dared, under the hypocritical pretence of devotion, to imprecate curses on England. The deprived Prelates were suspected, and not without some show of reason. For the nonjurors were, to a man, zealous Episcopalians. Their doctrine was that, in ecclesiastical matters of grave moment, nothing could be well done the reverent administration of thy sacraments. Raise up the former government both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without priest, without God in the world."

<sup>1</sup> *A Form of Prayer and Humiliation for God's Blessing upon His Majesty and his Dominions, and for Removing and Averting of God's Judgments from this Church and State, 1690.*

Clamor  
against the  
nonjuring  
Bishops.

without the sanction of the Bishop. And could it be believed that any who held this doctrine would compose a service, print it, circulate it, and actually use it in public worship, without the approbation of Sancroft, whom the whole party revered, not only as the true Primate of all England, but also as a saint and a confessor? It was known that the Prelates who had refused the oaths had lately held several consultations at Lambeth. The subjects of those consultations, it was now said, might easily be guessed. The holy fathers had been engaged in framing prayers for the destruction of the Protestant colony in Ireland, for the defeat of the English fleet in the Channel, and for the speedy arrival of a French army in Kent. The extreme section of the Whig party pressed this accusation with vindictive eagerness. This, then, said those implacable politicians, was the fruit of King William's merciful policy. Never had he committed a greater error than when he had conceived the hope that the hearts of the clergy were to be won by clemency and moderation. He had not chosen to give credit to men who had learned by a long and bitter experience that no kindness will tame the sullen ferocity of a priesthood. He had stroked and pampered when he should have tried the effect of chains and hunger. He had hazarded the good-will of his best friends by protecting his worst enemies. Those Bishops who had publicly refused to acknowledge him as their Sovereign, and who, by that refusal, had forfeited their dignities and revenues, still continued to live unmolested in palaces which ought to be occupied by better men. As for his indulgence, an indulgence unexampled in the history of revolutions, what return had been made? Even this, that the

men, whom he had, with so much tenderness, screened from just punishment, had the insolence to describe him in their prayers as a persecutor defiled with the blood of the righteous ; that they asked for grace to endure with fortitude his sanguinary tyranny ; that they cried to heaven for a foreign fleet and army to deliver them from his yoke ; nay, that they hinted at a wish so odious that even they had not the front to speak it plainly. One writer, in a pamphlet which produced a great sensation, expressed his wonder that the people had not, when Tourville was riding victorious in the Channel, Dewitted the nonjuring Prelates. Excited as the public mind then was, there was some danger that this suggestion might bring a furious mob to Lambeth. At Norwich, indeed, the people actually rose, attacked the palace which the Bishop was still suffered to occupy, and would have pulled it down but for the timely arrival of the trainbands.<sup>1</sup> The government very properly instituted criminal proceedings against the publisher of the work which had produced this alarming breach of the peace.<sup>2</sup> The deprived Prelates meanwhile put forth a defence of their conduct. In this document they declared, with all solemnity, and as in the presence of God, that they had no hand in the new Liturgy, that they knew not who had framed it, that they had never used it, that they had never held any correspondence, directly or indirectly with the French court, that they were engaged in no plot against the existing government, and that they would willingly shed their blood rather than see England subjugated by a foreign prince, who had,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, to Sancroft, in the Tanner MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Luttrell's *Diary*.



in his own kingdom, cruelly persecuted their Protestant brethren. As to the writer who had marked them out to the public vengeance by a fearful word, but too well understood, they commended him to the Divine mercy, and heartily prayed that his great sin might be forgiven him. Most of those who signed this paper did so, doubtless, with sincerity : but there is good reason to believe that one at least of the subscribers added to the crime of betraying his country the crime of calling his God to witness a falsehood.<sup>1</sup>

The events which were passing in the Channel and on the Continent compelled William to make repeated changes in his plans. During the week which followed his triumphal entry into Dublin, messengers charged with evil tidings arrived from England in rapid succession. First came the account of Waldeck's defeat at Fleurus. The King was much disturbed. All the pleasure, he said, which his own victory had

Military  
operations  
in Ireland :  
Waterford  
taken.

<sup>1</sup> *A Modest Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England, and who they are that brought the French into the English Channel Described*, 1690 ; *Reflections upon a Form of Prayer lately set out for the Jacobites*, 1690 ; *A Midnight Touch at an Unlicensed Pamphlet*, 1690. The paper signed by the nonjuring Bishops has often been reprinted.

Since the first edition of this part of my work appeared I have learned that the Jacobite Form of Prayer which produced so much excitement and controversy in 1690 was, to a great extent, copied from a Form of Prayer which had been composed and clandestinely printed, soon after the battle of Worcester, for the use of the Royalists. This curious fact, which seems to have been quite unknown both to the accused Bishops and to their accusers, was discovered by Mr. Lathbury, after the publication of his *History of the Nonjurors*, and was, in the most obliging manner, communicated by him to me.

given him was at an end. Yet, with that generosity which was hidden under his austere aspect, he sat down, even in the moment of his first vexation, to write a kind and encouraging letter to the unfortunate general.<sup>1</sup> Three days later came intelligence more alarming still. The allied fleet had been ignominiously beaten. The sea from the Downs to the Land's End was in possession of the enemy. The next post might bring news that Kent was invaded. A French squadron might appear in Saint George's Channel, and might without difficulty burn all the transports which lay at anchor in the Bay of Dublin. William determined to return to England: but he wished to obtain, before he went, the command of a safe haven on the eastern coast of Ireland. Waterford was the best place suited to his purpose; and toward Waterford he immediately proceeded. Clonmel and Kilkenny were abandoned by the Irish troops as soon as it was known that he was approaching. At Kilkenny he was entertained, on the nineteenth of July, by the Duke of Ormond, in the ancient castle of the Butlers, which had not long before been occupied by Lauzun, and which therefore, in the midst of the general devastation, still had tables and chairs, hangings on the walls, and claret in the cellars. On the twenty-first, two regiments which garrisoned Waterford consented to march out after a faint show of resistance: a few hours later the fort of Duncannon, which, towering on a rocky promontory, commanded the entrance of the harbor, surrendered; and William was master of the whole of that secure and spacious basin which is formed by the united waters of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow. He

<sup>1</sup> William to Heinsius, July 14, 1690.

then announced his intention of instantly returning to England, and, having declared Count Solmes Commander-in-chief of the army of Ireland, set out for Dublin.<sup>1</sup>

But good news met him on the road. Tourville had appeared on the coast of Devonshire, had put some troops on shore, and had sacked Tiegsmouth : but the only effect of this insult had been to raise the whole population of the western counties in arms against the invaders. The enemy had departed, after doing just mischief enough to make the cause of James as odious for a time to Tories as to Whigs. William, therefore, again changed his plans, and hastened back to his army, which, during his absence, had moved westward, and which he rejoined in the neighborhood of Cashel.<sup>2</sup>

About this time he received from Mary a letter requesting him to decide an important question on which the Council of Nine was divided. Marlborough was of opinion that all danger of invasion was over for that year. The sea, he said, was open ; for the French ships had returned into port, and were refitting. Now was the time to send an English fleet, with five thousand troops on board, to the southern extremity of Ireland. Such a force might easily reduce Cork and Kinsale, two of the most important strongholds still occupied by the forces of James. Marlborough was strenuously supported by Nottingham, and as strenuously opposed by the other members of the interior council with Caermarthen at their head. The Queen referred the matter to her husband. He highly ap-

<sup>1</sup> Story ; *London Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1690 ; Dumont MS.

<sup>2</sup> Story ; William to Heinsius, <sup>July 31,</sup> Aug. 10, 1690, *London Gazette*, Aug. 11.

proved of the plan, and gave orders that it should be executed by the General who had formed it. Caermarthen submitted, though with a bad grace, and with some murmurs at the extraordinary partiality of His Majesty for Marlborough.<sup>1</sup>

William meanwhile was advancing toward Limerick. In that city the army which he had put to rout at the

The Irish  
army col-  
lected at  
Limerick.

Boyne had taken refuge, discomfited, indeed, and disgraced, but very little diminished. He would not have had the trouble of besieging the place, if the advice of Lauzun and of Lauzun's countrymen had been followed.

Lauzun pro-  
nounces that  
the place  
cannot be  
defended.

They laughed at the thought of defending such fortifications, and indeed would not admit that the name of fortifications could properly be given to heaps of dirt, which certainly bore little resemblance to the works

of Valenciennes and Philipsburg. "It is unnecessary," said Lauzun, with an oath, "for the English to bring cannon against such a place as this. What you call your ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples." He therefore gave his voice for evacuating Limerick, and declared that, at all events, he was determined not to throw away in a hopeless resistance the lives of the brave men who had been intrusted to his care by his master.<sup>2</sup> The truth is, that the judgment of the brilliant and adventurous Frenchman was biased by his inclinations. He and his companions were sick of Ireland. They were ready to face

<sup>1</sup> Mary to William, Aug. 7, <sup>Aug. 22,</sup> <sup>Aug. 26,</sup> 1690.  
17, Sept. 1, Sept. 5,

<sup>2</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*; Mac Geoghegan; *Life of James*, ii., 420; *London Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1690.

death with courage, nay, with gayety, on a field of battle. But the dull, squalid, barbarous life, which they had now been leading during several months, was more than they could bear. They were as much out of the pale of the civilized world as if they had been banished to Dahomey or Spitzbergen. The climate affected their health and spirits. In that unhappy country, wasted by years of predatory war, hospitality could offer little more than a couch of straw, a trencher of meat half raw and half burned, and a draught of sour milk. A crust of bread, a pint of wine, could hardly be purchased for money. A year of such hardships seemed a century to men who had always been accustomed to carry with them to the camp the luxuries of Paris, soft bedding, rich tapestry, sideboards of plate, hampers of Champagne, opera dancers, cooks, and musicians. Better to be a prisoner in the Bastile, better to be a recluse at La Trappe, than to be a generalissimo of the half-naked savages who burrowed in the dreary swamps of Munster. Any plea was welcome which would serve as an excuse for returning from that miserable exile to the land of cornfields and vineyards, of gilded coaches and laced cravats, of ball-rooms and theatres.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The impatience of Lauzun and his countrymen to get away from Ireland is mentioned in a letter of Oct. 21, 1690, quoted in the *Memoirs of James*, ii., 421. "Asimo," says Colonel Kelly, the author of the *Macariæ Excidium*, "diuturnam absentiam tam ægre molesteque ferebat ut bellum in Cypro protrahi continuarique ipso ei auditu acerbissimum esset. Nec incredibile est ducum in illius exercitu nonnullos, potissimum qui patrii cœli dulcedinem impatientius suspirabant, sibi persuasisse desperatas Cypri res nulla humana ope defendi sustentarique posse." Asimo is Lauzun, and Cyprus Ireland.



Very different was the feeling of the children of the soil. The island, which to French courtiers was a dis-

The Irish  
insist on  
defending  
Limerick.

consolate place of banishment, was the Irishman's home. There were collected all the objects of his love and of his ambition ; and there he hoped that his dust would one

day mingle with the dust of his fathers. To him even the heaven dark with the vapors of the ocean, the wilderness of black rushes and stagnant water, the mud cabins where the peasants and the swine shared their meal of roots, had a charm which was wanting to the sunny skies, the cultured fields, and the stately mansions of the Seine. He could imagine no fairer spot than his country, if only his country could be freed from the tyranny of the Saxons ; and all hope that his country would be freed from the tyranny of the Saxons must be abandoned if Limerick were surrendered.

The conduct of the Irish during the last two months had sunk their military reputation to the lowest point. They had, with the exception of some gallant regiments of cavalry, fled disgracefully at the Boyne, and had thus incurred the bitter contempt both of their enemies and of their allies. The English who were at Saint Germain's never spoke of the Irish but as a people of dastards and traitors.<sup>1</sup> The French were so much exasperated against the unfortunate nation, that Irish merchants, who had been many years settled at Paris

<sup>1</sup> " Pauci illi ex Cilicibus aulicis, qui cum regina in Syria, commorante remanservant . . . non cessabant universam nationem foede traducere, et ingestis insuper convitiis lacerare, pavidos et maleficos proditores ac mortalium consceleratissimos publice appellando."—*Macariæ Excidium*. The Cilicians are the English. Syria is France.

and Bordeaux, durst not walk the streets for fear of being insulted by the populace.<sup>1</sup> So strong was the prejudice, that absurd stories were invented to explain the intrepidity with which the horse had fought. It was said that the troopers were not men of Celtic blood, but descendants of the old English of the pale.<sup>2</sup> It was also said that they had been intoxicated with brandy just before the battle.<sup>3</sup> Yet nothing can be more certain than that they must have been generally of Irish race ; nor did the steady valor which they displayed in a long and almost hopeless conflict against great odds bear any resemblance to the fury of a coward maddened by strong drink into momentary hardihood. Even in the infantry, undisciplined and disorganized as it was, there was much spirit, though little firmness. Fits of enthusiasm and fits of faint-heartedness succeeded each other. The same battalion, which at one time threw away its arms in a panic and shrieked for quarter, would on another occasion fight valiantly. On the day of the Boyne the courage of the ill-trained and ill-commanded kerns had ebbed to the lowest point. When they had rallied at Limerick, their blood was up. Patriotism, fanaticism, shame, revenge, despair, had raised them above themselves. With one voice

<sup>1</sup> "Tanta infamia tam operoso artificio et subtili commento in vulgus sparsa, tam constantibus de Cypriorum perfidia atque opprobrio, rumoribus, totam, qua lata est, Syriam ita pervasit. ut mercatores Cyprii, . . . propter inustum genti dedecus, intra demorum septa clausi nunquam prodire auderent ; tanto eorum odio populus in universum exarserat."—*Macariæ Excidium*.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen this assertion in a contemporary pamphlet of which I cannot recollect the title.

<sup>3</sup> Story ; Dumont MS.

officers and men insisted, that the city should be defended to the last. At the head of those who were for resisting was the brave Sarsfield ; and his exhortations diffused through all ranks a spirit resembling his own. To save his country was beyond his power. All that he could do was to prolong her last agony through one bloody and disastrous year.<sup>1</sup>

Tyrconnel was altogether incompetent to decide the question on which the French and the Irish differed.

Tyrconnel is  
against de-  
fending  
Limerick. The only military qualities that he had ever possessed were personal bravery and skill in the use of the sword. These qualities had once enabled him to frighten away rivals from the doors of his mistresses, and to play the Hector at cockpits and hazard-tables. But more was necessary to enable him to form an opinion as to the possibility of defending Limerick. He would probably, had his temper been as hot as in the days when he dined with Grammont and threatened to cut the old Duke of Ormond's throat, have voted for running any risk however desperate. But age, pain, and sickness had left little of the ranting, bullying, fighting Dick Talbot of the Restoration. He had sunk into deep despondency. He was incapable of strenuous exertion. The French officers pronounced him utterly ignorant of the art of war. They had observed that at the Boyne he had seemed to be stupefied, unable to give

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*. Boisseleau remarked the ebb and flow of courage among the Irish. I have quoted one of his letters to his wife. It is but just to quote another. " Nos Irlandois n'avoient jamais vu le feu ; et cela les a surpris. Presentement, ils sont si fâchés de n'avoir pas fait leur devoir que je suis bien persuadé qu'ils feront mieux pour l'avenir."

directions himself, unable even to make up his mind about the suggestions which were offered by others.<sup>1</sup> The disasters which had since followed one another in rapid succession were not likely to restore the tone of a mind so pitiably unnerved. His wife was already in France with the little which remained of his once ample fortune : his own wish was to follow her thither ; his voice was therefore given for abandoning the city.

At last a compromise was made. Lauzun and Tyrconnel, with the French troops, retired to Galway.

Limerick defended by the Irish alone. The great body of the native army, about twenty thousand strong, remained at Limerick.

The chief command there was intrusted to Boisseleau, who understood the character of the Irish better, and consequently judged them more favorably, than any of his countrymen. In general, the French captains spoke of their unfortunate allies with boundless contempt and abhorrence, and thus made themselves as hateful as the English.<sup>2</sup>

Lauzun and Tyrconnel had scarcely departed when the advanced-guard of William's army came in sight.

<sup>1</sup> La Hoguette, writing to Louvois from Limerick, July 31, Aug. 10, 1690, says of Tyrconnel : " Il a d'ailleurs trop peu de connoissance des choses de notre metier. Il a perdu absolument la confiance des officiers du pays, surtout depuis le jour de notre dérouté ; et, en effet, Monseigneur, je me crois obligé de vous dire que dès le moment où les ennemis parurent sur le bord de la rivière le premier jour, et dans toute la journée du lendemain, il parut à tout le monde dans une si grande léthargie qu'il étoit incapable de prendre aucun parti, quelque chose qu'on lui proposât."

<sup>2</sup> Desgrigny says of the Irish : " Ils sont toujours prêts de nous égorger par l'antipathie qu'ils ont pour nous. C'est la nation du monde la plus brutale, et qui a le moins d'humanité " (Aug. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1690).

Soon the King himself, accompanied by Auverquerque and Ginkell, and escorted by three hundred horse, rode forward to examine the fortification. The city, then the second in Ireland, though less altered since that time than most large cities in the British Isles, has undergone a great change. The new town did not then exist. The ground now covered by those smooth and broad pavements, those neat gardens, those stately shops flaming with red brick, and gay with shawls and china, was then an open meadow lying without the walls. The city consisted of two parts, which had been designated during several centuries as the English and the Irish town. The English town stands on an island surrounded by the Shannon, and consists of a knot of antique houses with gable-ends, crowding thick round a venerable cathedral. The aspect of the streets is such that a traveller who wanders through them may easily fancy himself in Normandy or Flanders. Not far from the cathedral, an ancient castle overgrown with weeds and ivy looks down on the river. A narrow and rapid stream, over which, in 1690, there was only a single bridge, divides the English town from the quarter anciently occupied by the hovels of the native population. The view from the top of the cathedral now extends many miles over a level expanse of rich mould, through which the greatest of Irish rivers winds between artificial banks. But in the seventeenth century those banks had not been constructed ; and that wide plain, of which the grass, verdant even beyond the verdure of Munster, now feeds some of the finest cattle in Europe, was then almost always a marsh and often a lake.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Story ; *Account of the Cities in Ireland that are still pos-*  
VOL. VII.—5.



When it was known that the French troops had quitted Limerick, and that the Irish only remained, the general expectation in the English camp was that the city would be an easy conquest.<sup>1</sup> Nor was that expectation unreasonable : for even Sarsfield desponded. One chance, in his opinion, there still was. William had brought with him none but small guns. Several large pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of provisions and ammunition, and a bridge of tin boats, which in the watery plain of the Shannon was frequently needed, were slowly following from Cashel. If the guns and gunpowder could be intercepted and destroyed, there might be some hope. If not, all was lost ; and the best thing that a brave and high-spirited Irish gentleman could do was to forget the country which he had in vain tried to defend, and to seek in some foreign land a home or a grave.

A few hours, therefore, after the English tents had been pitched before Limerick, Sarsfield set forth, under cover of the night, with a strong body of horse and dragoons. He took the road to Killaloe, and crossed the Shannon there. During the day he lurked with his band in a wild mountain tract named from the silver mines which it contains. Those mines had many years before been worked by English proprietors, with the help of engineers and laborers imported from the Continent. But, in the rebellion of 1641, the aboriginal population had destroyed the works and massacred the workmen ; nor had the devastation then committed been since re-  
*assed by the Forces of King James, 1690.* There are some curious old maps of Limerick in the British Museum.

Sarsfield sur-  
prises the  
English  
artillery.

<sup>1</sup> Story ; Dumont MS.

paired. In this desolate region Sarsfield found no lack of scouts or of guides : for all the peasantry of Munster were zealous on his side. He learned in the evening that the detachment which guarded the English artillery had halted for the night, seven miles from William's camp, on a pleasant carpet of green turf, and under the ruined walls of an old castle ; that officers and men seemed to think themselves perfectly secure ; that the beasts had been turned loose to graze, and that even the sentinels were dozing. When it was dark the Irish horsemen quitted their hiding-place, and were conducted by the people of the country to the spot where the escort lay sleeping round the guns. The surprise was complete. Some of the English sprang to their arms and made an attempt to resist, but in vain. About sixty fell. One only was taken alive. The rest fled. The victorious Irish made a huge pile of wagons and pieces of cannon. Every gun was stuffed with powder, and fixed with its mouth in the ground ; and the whole mass was blown up. The solitary prisoner, a lieutenant, was treated with great civility by Sarsfield. " If I had failed in this attempt," said the gallant Irishman, " I should have been off to France." <sup>1</sup>

Intelligence had been carried to William's headquarters that Sarsfield had stolen out of Limerick and was ranging the country. The King guessed the design of his brave enemy, and sent five hundred horse to protect the guns. Unhappily there was some delay, which the English, always disposed to believe the worst of the Dutch courtiers, attributed to the negligence or perverseness of Portland. At one in the morning the

<sup>1</sup> Story ; James, ii., 416 ; Burnet, ii., 58 ; Dumont MS.

detachment set out, but had scarcely left the camp when a blaze like lightning and a crash like thunder announced to the wide plain of the Shannon that all was over.<sup>1</sup>

Sarsfield had long been the favorite of his countrymen; and this most seasonable exploit, judiciously planned and vigorously executed, raised him still higher in their estimation. Their spirits rose; and the besiegers began to lose heart. William did his best to repair his loss. Two of the guns which had been blown up were found to be still serviceable. Two more were sent for from Waterford. Batteries were constructed of small field-pieces, which, though they might have been useless against one of the fortresses of Hainault or Brabant, made some impression on the feeble defences of Limerick. Several outworks were carried by storm; and a breach in the rampart of the city began to appear.

During these operations, the English army was astonished and amused by an incident, which produced, indeed, no very important consequences, but which illustrates in the most striking manner the real nature of Irish Jacobitism. In the first rank of those great Celtic houses, which, down to the close of the reign of Elizabeth, bore rule in Ulster, were the O'Donnells. The head of that house had yielded to the skill and energy of Mountjoy, had kissed the hand of James the First, and had consented to exchange the rude independence of a petty prince for an eminently honorable place among British subjects. During a short time the vanquished chief held the rank of an Earl, and was the

Arrival of  
Baldearg  
O'Donnel at  
Limerick.

<sup>1</sup> Story; Dumont MS.

landlord of an immense domain of which he had once been the sovereign. But soon he began to suspect the government of plotting against him, and, in revenge or in self-defence, plotted against the government. His schemes failed : he fled to the Continent : his title and his estates were forfeited ; and an Anglo-Saxon colony was planted in the territory which he had governed. He meanwhile took refuge at the court of Spain. Between that court and the aboriginal Irish there had, during the long contest between Philip and Elizabeth, been a close connection. The exiled chieftain was welcomed at Madrid as a good Catholic flying from heretical persecutors. His illustrious descent and princely dignity, which to the English were subjects of ridicule, secured him the respect of the Castilian grandees. His honors were inherited by a succession of banished men who lived and died far from the land where the memory of their family was fondly cherished by a rude peasantry, and was kept fresh by the songs of minstrels and the tales of begging friars. At length, in the eighty-third year of the exile of this ancient dynasty, it was known over all Europe that the Irish were again in arms for their independence. Baldearg O'Donnel, who called himself the O'Donnel, a title far prouder, in the estimation of his race, than any marquissate or dukedom, had been bred in Spain, and was in the service of the Spanish government. He requested the permission of that government to repair to Ireland ; but the House of Austria was now closely leagued with England, and the permission was refused. The O'Donnel made his escape, and by a circuitous route, in the course of which he visited Turkey, arrived at Kinsale a few days after James had sailed

thence for France. The effect produced on the native population by the arrival of this solitary wanderer was marvellous. Since Ulster had been reconquered by the Englishry, great multitudes of the Irish inhabitants of that province had migrated southward, and were now leading a vagrant life in Connaught and Munster. These men, accustomed from their infancy to hear of the good old times, when the O'Donnel, solemnly inaugurated on the rock of Kilmacrenan by the successor of Saint Columb, governed the mountains of Donegal in defiance of the strangers of the pale, flocked to the standard of the restored exile. He was soon at the head of seven or eight thousand Rapparees, or, to use the name peculiar to Ulster, Creaghts; and his followers adhered to him with a loyalty very different from the languid sentiment which the Saxon James had been able to inspire. Priests and even Bishops swelled the train of the adventurer. He was so much elated by his reception that he sent agents to France, who assured the ministers of Lewis that the O'Donnel would, if furnished with arms and ammunition, bring into the field thirty thousand Celts from Ulster, and that the Celts of Ulster would be found far superior in every military quality to those of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. No expression used by Baldearg indicated that he considered himself as a subject. His notion evidently was that the House of O'Donnel was as truly and as indefeasibly royal as the House of Stuart; and not a few of his countrymen were of the same mind. He made a pompous entrance into Limerick; and his appearance there raised the hopes of the garrison to a strange pitch. Numerous prophecies were recollected or invented. An O'Donnel with a red



mark was to be the deliverer of his country ; and Baldearg meant a red mark. An O'Donnell was to gain a great battle over the English near Limerick ; and at Limerick the O'Donnell and the English were now brought face to face.<sup>1</sup>

While these predictions were eagerly repeated by the defenders of the city, evil presages, grounded, not on barbarous oracles, but on grave military reasons, began to disturb William and his most experienced officers. The blow struck by Sarsfield had told : the artillery had been long in doing its work : that work was even now very imperfectly done ; the stock of powder had begun to run low : the autumnal rain had begun to fall. The soldiers in the trenches were up to their knees in mire. No precaution was neglected : but, though drains were dug to carry off the water, and though pewter basins of usquebaugh and brandy blazed all night in the tents, cases of fever had already occurred ; and it might well be apprehended that, if the army remained but a few days longer on that swampy soil, there would be a pestilence more terrible than that which had raged twelve months before under the walls of Dundalk.<sup>2</sup> A coun-

<sup>1</sup> See the account of the O'Donnells in Sir William Betham's *Irish Antiquarian Researches*. It is strange that he makes no mention of Baldearg, whose appearance in Ireland is the most extraordinary event in the whole history of the race. See also Story's *Impartial History* ; *Macariæ Excidium*, and Mr. O'Callaghan's note ; *Life of James*, ii., 434 ; the Letter of O'Donnell to Avaux, and the Memorial entitled *Mémoire donnée par un homme du Comte O'Donnell à M. D'Avaux*.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will remember Corporal Trim's explanation of radical heat and radical moisture. Sterne is an authority not to be despised on these subjects. His boyhood was passed in bar-

cil of war was held. It was determined to make one great effort, and, if that effort failed, to raise the siege.

On the twenty-seventh of August, at three in the afternoon, the signal was given. Five hundred grenadiers rushed from the English trenches to the counterscarp, fired their pieces, and threw their grenades. The Irish fled into the town, and were followed by the assailants, who, in the excitement of victory, did not wait for orders. Then began a terrible street fight. The Irish, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, stood resolutely to their arms ; and the English grenadiers, overwhelmed by numbers, were, with great loss, driven back to the counterscarp. There the struggle was long and desperate. When, indeed, was the Roman Catholic Celt to fight if he did not fight on that day ? The very women of Limerick mingled in the combat, stood firmly under the hottest fire, and flung stones and broken bottles at the enemy. In the moment when the conflict was fiercest a mine exploded, and hurled a fine German battalion into the air. During four hours the carnage and uproar continued. The thick cloud which rose from the breach streamed out on the wind for many miles, and disappeared behind the hills of Clare. Late in the evening the besiegers retired slowly and sullenly to their camp. Their hope was that a second attack would be made on the morrow ; and the soldiers vowed to have the town or die. But the powder was now almost exhausted :

racks ; he was constantly listening to the talk of old soldiers who had served under King William, and has used their stories like a man of true genius.

Unsuccessful  
assault on  
Limerick.  
The siege  
raised.

the rain fell in torrents : the gloomy masses of cloud which came up from the south-west threatened a havoc more terrible than that of the sword ; and there was reason to fear that the roads, which were already deep in mud, would soon be in such a state that no wheeled carriage could be dragged through them. The King determined to raise the siege, and to move his troops to a healthier region. He had, in truth, stayed long enough : for it was with great difficulty that his guns and wagons were tugged away by long teams of oxen.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the first siege of Limerick bears, in some respects, a remarkable analogy to the history of the siege of Londonderry. The southern city was, like the northern city, the last asylum of a Church and of a nation. Both places were crowded by fugitives from all parts of Ireland. Both places appeared to men who had made a regular study of the art of war incapable of resisting an enemy. Both were, in the moment of

<sup>1</sup> Story ; William to Waldeck, Sept. 22, 1690 ; *London Gazette*, Sept. 4. Berwick asserts that when the siege was raised not a drop of rain had fallen during a month, that none fell during the following three weeks, and that William pretended that the weather was wet merely to hide the shame of his defeat. Story, who was on the spot, says, " It was cloudy all about, and rained very fast, so that everybody began to dread the consequences of it " ; and again, " The rain which had already fallen had softened the way. . . . This was one main reason for raising the siege : for, if we had not, granting the weather to continue bad, we must either have taken the town, or of necessity have lost our cannon." Dumont, another eye-witness, says that before the siege was raised the rains had been most violent ; that the Shannon was swollen ; that the earth was soaked ; that the horses could not keep their feet.

extreme danger, abandoned by those commanders who should have defended them. Lauzun and Tyrconnel deserted Limerick as Cunningham and Lundy had deserted Londonderry. In both cases, religious and patriotic enthusiasm struggled unassisted against great odds; and, in both cases, religious and patriotic enthusiasm did what veteran warriors pronounced it absurd to attempt.

It was with no pleasurable emotions that Lauzun and Tyrconnel learned at Galway the fortunate issue of the conflict in which they had refused to take a part. They were weary of Ireland: they were apprehensive that their conduct might be unfavorably represented in France: they therefore determined to be beforehand with their accusers, and took ship together for the Continent.

Tyrconnel, before he departed, delegated his civil authority to one council, and his military authority to another. The young Duke of Berwick was declared Commander-in-chief: but this dignity was merely nominal. Sarsfield, undoubtedly the first of Irish soldiers, was placed last in the list of councillors to whom the conduct of the war was intrusted; and some believed that he would not have been in the list at all, had not the Viceroy feared that the omission of so popular a name might produce a mutiny.

William meanwhile proceeded to Waterford, and sailed thence for England. Before he embarked, he intrusted the government of Ireland to three Lords-justices. Henry Sidney, now Viscount Sidney, stood first in the commission; and with him were joined Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter. Porter had formerly held the Great Seal of

William re-  
turns to  
England.

the kingdom, had, merely because he was a Protestant, been deprived of it by James, and had now received it again from the hand of William.

On the sixth of September the King, after a voyage of twenty-four hours, landed at Bristol. Thence he travelled to London, stopping by the road at the mansions of some great lords ; and it was remarked that all those who were thus honored were Tories. He was entertained one day at Badminton by the Duke of Beaufort, who was supposed to have brought himself with great difficulty to take the oaths, and on a subsequent day at a large house near Marlborough, which, in our own time, before the great revolution produced by railways, was renowned as one of the best inns in England, but which, in the seventeenth century, was a seat of the Duke of Somerset. William was everywhere received with marks of respect and joy. His campaign, indeed, had not ended quite so prosperously as it had begun : but on the whole his success had been great beyond expectation, and had fully indicated the wisdom of his resolution to command his army in person. The sack of Teignmouth, too, was fresh in the minds of Englishmen, and had for a time reconciled all but the most fanatical Jacobites to each other and to the throne. The magistracy and clergy of the capital repaired to Kensington with thanks and congratulations. The people rang bells and kindled bonfires. For the Pope, whom good Protestants had been accustomed to immolate, the French King was on this occasion substituted, probably by way of retaliation for the insults which had been offered to the effigy of William by the Parisian populace. A waxen figure, which was doubtless a

Reception of  
William in  
England.



hideous caricature of the most graceful and majestic of princes, was dragged about Westminster in a chariot. Above was inscribed, in large letters, "Lewis, the greatest tyrant of fourteen." After the procession, the image was committed to the flames, amidst loud huzzas, in the middle of Covent Garden.<sup>1</sup>

When William arrived in London, the expedition destined for Cork was ready to sail from Portsmouth ; and Marlborough had been some time on board waiting for a fair wind. He was accompanied by Grafton. This young man had been, immediately after the departure of James, and while the throne was still vacant, named by William Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards. The Revolution had scarcely been consummated, when signs of disaffection began to appear in that regiment, the most important, both because of its peculiar duties and because of its numerical strength, of all the regiments in the army. It was thought that the Colonel had not put this bad spirit down with a sufficiently firm hand. He was known not to be perfectly satisfied with the new arrangement : he had voted for a Regency ; and it was rumored, perhaps without reason, that he had dealings with Saint Germain. The honorable and lucrative command to which he had just been appointed was taken from him.<sup>2</sup> Though severely mortified, he behaved like a man of sense and spirit. Bent on proving that he had been wrongfully suspected, and animated by an honorable ambition to distinguish him-

*London Gazette*, September 11, 1690 ; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*. I have seen a contemporary engraving of Covent Garden as it appeared on this night.

<sup>2</sup> Van Citters to the States-general, March  $\frac{19}{29}$ , 1689.

self in his profession, he obtained permission to serve as a volunteer under Marlborough in Ireland.

At length, on the eighteenth of September, the wind changed. The fleet stood out to sea, and, on the twenty-first, appeared before the harbor of Cork. The troops landed, and were speedily joined by the Duke of Würtemberg, with several regiments, Dutch, Danish, and French, detached from the army which had lately besieged Limerick. The Duke immediately put forward a claim which, if the English general had not been a man of excellent judgment and temper, might have been fatal to the expedition. His Highness contended that, as a prince of a sovereign house, he was entitled to command in chief. Marlborough calmly and politely showed that the pretence was unreasonable. A dispute followed, in which it is said that the German behaved with rudeness, and the Englishman with that gentle firmness to which, more perhaps than even to his great abilities, he owed his success in life. At length a Huguenot officer suggested a compromise. Marlborough consented to waive part of his rights, and to allow precedence to the Duke on the alternate days. The first morning on which Marlborough had the command, he gave the word "Würtemberg." The Duke's heart was won by this compliment; and on the next day he gave the word "Marlborough."

But, whoever might give the word, genius asserted its indefeasible superiority. Marlborough was on every day the real general. Cork was vigorously  
Marlborough  
takes Cork. attacked. Outwork after outwork was rapidly carried. In forty-eight hours all was over. The traces of the short struggle may still be seen. The old fort, where the Irish made the hardest

fight, lies in ruins. The Doric Cathedral, so ungracefully joined to the ancient tower, stands on the sight of a Gothic edifice which was shattered by the English cannon. In the neighboring church-yard is still shown the spot where stood, during many ages, one of those round towers which have perplexed antiquaries. This venerable monument shared the fate of the neighboring church. On another spot, which is now called the Mall, and is lined by the stately houses of banking companies, railway companies, and insurance companies, but which was then a bog known by the name of the Rape Marsh, four English regiments, up to the shoulders in water, advanced gallantly to the assault. Grafton, ever foremost in danger, while struggling through the quagmire, was struck by a shot from the ramparts, and was carried back dying. The place where he fell, then about a hundred yards without the City, but now situated in the very centre of business and population, is still called Grafton Street. The assailants had made their way through the swamp, and the close fighting was just about to begin, when a parley was beaten. Articles of capitulation were speedily adjusted. The garrison, between four and five thousand fighting-men, became prisoners. Marlborough promised to intercede with the King both for them and for the inhabitants, and to prevent outrage and spoliation. His troops he succeeded in restraining : but crowds of sailors and camp-followers came into the city through the breach ; and the houses of many Roman Catholics were sacked before order was restored.

No commander has ever understood better than Marlborough how to improve a victory. A few hours after Cork had fallen, his cavalry were on the road to Kin-







sale. A trumpeter was sent to summon the place. The Irish threatened to hang him for bringing such a message, set fire to the town, and retired Marlborough takes Kinsale. into two forts called the Old and the New. The English horse arrived just in time to extinguish the flames. Marlborough speedily followed with his infantry. The Old Fort was scaled ; and four hundred and fifty men who defended it were killed or taken. The New Fort it was necessary to attack in a more methodical way. Batteries were planted : trenches were opened : mines were sprung : in a few days the besiegers were masters of the counterscarp ; and all was ready for storming when the governor offered to capitulate. The garrison, twelve hundred strong, was suffered to retire to Limerick ; but the conquerors took possession of the stores, which were of considerable value. Of all the Irish ports, Kinsale was the best situated for intercourse with France. Here, therefore, was a plenty unknown in any other part of Munster. At Limerick bread and wine were luxuries which generals and privy councillors were not always able to procure. But in the New Fort of Kinsale Marlborough found a thousand barrels of wheat and eighty pipes of claret.

His success had been complete and rapid ; and, indeed, had it not been rapid, it would not have been complete. His campaign, short as it was, had been long enough to allow time for the deadly work which, in that age, the moist earth and air of Ireland seldom failed, in the autumnal season, to perform on English soldiers. The malady which had thinned the ranks of Schomberg's army at Dundalk, and which had compelled William to make a hasty retreat from the estu-

ary of the Shannon, had begun to appear at Kinsale. Quick and vigorous as Marlborough's operations were, he lost a much greater number of men by disease than by the fire of the enemy. He presented himself at Kensington only five weeks after he had sailed from Portsmouth, and was most graciously received. "No officer living," said William, "who has seen so little service as my Lord Marlborough, is so fit for great commands."<sup>1</sup>

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the aspect of things had, during this memorable summer, changed greatly for the better. That club of discontented Whigs which had, in the preceding year, ruled the Parliament, browbeaten the ministers, refused the supplies, and stopped the signet, had sunk under general contempt, and had at length ceased to exist. There was harmony between the Sovereign and the Estates; and the long contest between two forms of ecclesiastical government had been terminated in the only way compatible with the peace and prosperity of the country.

This happy turn of affairs is to be chiefly ascribed to the errors of the perfidious, turbulent, and revengeful Montgomery. Some weeks after the close of that session during which he had exercised a boundless authority over the Scottish Parliament, he went to London with his two principal confederates, the Earl of Annandale

Affairs in  
Scotland.

Intrigues of  
Montgomery  
with the  
Jacobites.

<sup>1</sup> As to Marlborough's expedition, see Story's *Impartial History*; the *Life of James*, ii., 419, 420; *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 13, 16, 27, 30, 1690; *Monthly Mercury* for Nov., 1690; *History of King William*, 1702; Burnet, ii., 60; the *Life of Joseph Pike, a Quaker of Cork*.

and the Lord Ross. The three had an audience of William, and presented to him a manifesto setting forth what they demanded for the public. They would very soon have changed their tone if he would have granted what they demanded for themselves. But he resented their conduct deeply, and was determined not to pay them for annoying him. The reception which he gave them convinced them that they had no favor to expect. Montgomery's passions were fierce : his wants were pressing : he was miserably poor ; and, if he could not speedily force himself into a lucrative office, he would be in danger of rotting in a jail. Since his services were not likely to be bought by William, they must be offered to James. A broker was easily found. Montgomery was an old acquaintance of Ferguson. The two traitors soon understood each other. They were kindred spirits, differing widely in intellectual power, but equally vain, restless, false, and malevolent. Montgomery was introduced to Neville Payne, one of the most adroit and resolute agents of the exiled family. Payne had been long well known about town as a dabbler in poetry and politics. He had been an intimate friend of the indiscreet and unfortunate Coleman, and had been committed to Newgate as an accomplice in the Popish plot. His moral character had not stood high : but he soon had an opportunity of proving that he possessed courage and fidelity worthy of a better cause than that of James, and of a better associate than Montgomery.

The negotiation speedily ended in a treaty of alliance. Payne confidently promised Montgomery, not merely pardon, but riches, power, and dignity. Montgomery as confidently undertook to induce the Parliament of

Scotland to recall the rightful King. Ross and Annandale readily agreed to whatever their able and active colleague proposed. An adventurer, who was sometimes called Simpson and sometimes Jones, who was perfectly willing to serve or to betray any government for hire, and who received wages at once from Portland and from Neville Payne, undertook to carry the offers of the Club to James. Montgomery and his two noble accomplices returned to Edinburgh, and there proceeded to form a coalition with their old enemies, the defenders of prelacy and of arbitrary power.<sup>1</sup>

The two extreme Scottish factions, one hostile to all liberty, the other impatient of all government, flattered themselves during a short time with hopes that the civil war would break out in the Highlands with redoubled fury. But those hopes were disappointed. In the spring of 1690 an officer named Buchan arrived in Lochaber from Ireland. He bore a commission which appointed him general-in-chief of all the forces which were in arms for King James throughout the kingdom of Scotland. Cannon, who had, since the death of Dundee, held the first post, and had proved himself unfit for it, became second in command. Little, however, was gained by the change. It was no easy matter to induce the Gaelic princes to renew the war. Indeed, but for the influence and eloquence of Lochiel, not a sword would have been drawn in the cause of the House of Stuart. He, with some difficulty, persuaded the chieftains, who

War in the  
Highlands.

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras; Annandale's Confession in the *Leven and Melville Papers*; Burnet, ii., 35. As to Payne, see the *Second Modest Inquiry into the Cause of the Present Disasters*, 1690.

had, in the preceding year, fought at Killiecrankie, to come to a resolution that, before the end of the summer, they would muster all their followers and march into the Lowlands. In the meantime twelve hundred mountaineers of different tribes were placed under the orders of Buchan, who undertook, with this force, to keep the English garrisons in constant alarm by feints and incursions, till the season for more important operations should arrive. He accordingly marched into Strathspey. But all his plans were speedily disconcerted by the boldness and dexterity of Sir Thomas Livingstone, who held Inverness for King William. Livingstone, guided and assisted by the Grants, who were firmly attached to the new government, came, with a strong body of cavalry and dragoons, by forced marches and through arduous defiles, to the place where the Jacobites had taken up their quarters. He reached the camp fires at dead of night. The first alarm was given by the rush of the horses over the terrified sentinels into the midst of the crowd of Celts who lay sleeping in their plaids. Buchan escaped bareheaded and without his sword. Cannon ran away in his shirt. The conquerors lost not a man. Four hundred Highlanders were killed or taken. The rest fled to their hills and mists.<sup>1</sup>

This event put an end to all thoughts of civil war. The gathering which had been planned for the summer never took place. Lochiel, even if he had been willing, was not able to sustain any longer the falling cause. He had been laid on his bed by a mishap which

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras; Mackay's *Memoirs*; *History of the Late Revolution in Scotland*, 1690; Livingstone's Report, dated May 1; *London Gazette*, May 12, 1690.



would alone suffice to show how little could be effected by a confederacy of the petty kings of the mountains. At a consultation of the Jacobite leaders, a gentleman from the Lowlands spoke with severity of those sycophants who had changed their religion to curry favor with King James. Glengarry was one of those people who think it dignified to suppose that everybody is always insulting them. He took it into his head that some allusion to himself was meant. "I am as good a Protestant as you," he cried ; and added a word not to be patiently borne by a man of spirit. In a moment both swords were out. Lochiel thrust himself between the combatants, and, while forcing them asunder, received a wound which was at first believed to be mortal.<sup>1</sup>

So effectually had the spirit of the disaffected clans been cowed that Mackay marched unresisted from

Perth into Lochaber, fixed his headquarters  
Fort William  
built. at Inverlochy, and proceeded to execute his

favorite design of erecting at that place a fortress which might overawe the mutinous Camerons and Macdonalds. In a few days the walls were raised ; the ditches were sunk : the palisades were fixed : demi-culverins from a ship of war were ranged along the parapets ; and the general departed, leaving an officer named Hill in command of a sufficient garrison. Within the defences there was no want of oatmeal, red herrings, and beef ; and there was rather a superabundance of brandy. The new stronghold, which, hastily and rudely as it had been constructed, seemed doubtless to the people of the neighborhood the most stupendous work that power and science united had

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Late Revolution in Scotland*, 1690.

ever produced, was named Fort William in honor of the King.<sup>1</sup>

By this time the Scottish Parliament had reassembled at Edinburgh. William had found it no easy matter to decide what course should be taken with that capricious and unruly body. The English Commons had sometimes put him out of temper. Yet they had granted him millions, and had never asked from him such concessions as had been imperiously demanded by the Scottish legislature, which could give him little, and had given him nothing. The English statesmen with whom he had to deal did not generally stand or deserve to stand high in his esteem. Yet few of them were so utterly false and shameless as the leading Scottish politicians. Hamilton was, in morality and honor, rather above than below his fellows ; and even Hamilton was fickle, false, and greedy. " I wish to Heaven," William was once provoked into exclaiming, " that Scotland were a thousand miles off, and that the Duke of Hamilton were King of it. Then I should be rid of them both."

After much deliberation, William determined to send Melville down to Edinburgh as Lord High Commissioner. Melville was not a great statesman : he was not a great orator : he did not look or move like the representative of royalty ; his character was not of more than standard purity ; and the standard of purity among Scottish

<sup>1</sup> Mackay's *Memoirs* and Letters to Hamilton of June 20 and 24, 1690 ; Colonel Hill to Melville, July 10, 26 ; *London Gazette*, July 17, 21. As to Inverlochy, see among the Culloden papers, a Plan for preserving the Peace of the Highlands, drawn up, at this time, by the father of President Forbes.

senators was not high : but he was by no means deficient in prudence or temper ; and he succeeded, on the whole, better than a man of much higher qualities might have done.

During the first days of the Session, the friends of the government desponded, and the chiefs of the opposition were sanguine. Montgomery's head, though by no means a weak one, had been turned by the triumphs of the preceding year. He believed that his intrigues and his rhetoric had completely subjugated the Estates. It seemed to him impossible that, having

The government obtains a majority. exercised a boundless empire in the Parliament-house, when the Jacobites were absent, he should be defeated when they were present, and ready to support whatever he proposed. He had not, indeed, found it easy to prevail on them to attend : for they could not take their seats without taking the oaths. A few of them had some slight scruple of conscience about forswearing themselves ; and many, who did not know what a scruple of conscience meant, were apprehensive that they might offend the rightful King by vowing fealty to the actual King. Some Lords, however, who were supposed to be in the confidence of James, asserted that, to their knowledge, he wished his friends to perjure themselves ; and this assertion induced most of the Jacobites, with Balcarras at their head, to be guilty of perfidy aggravated by impiety.<sup>1</sup>

It soon appeared, however, that Montgomery's faction, even with this re-enforcement, was no longer a majority of the legislature. For every supporter that he had gained he had lost two. He had committed an

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras.

error which has more than once, in British history, been fatal to great parliamentary leaders. He had imagined that, as soon as he chose to coalesce with those to whom he had recently been opposed, all his followers would imitate his example. He soon found that it was much easier to inflame animosities than to appease them. The great body of Whigs and Presbyterians shrank from the fellowship of the Jacobites. Some waverers were purchased by the government; nor was the purchase expensive; for a sum which would hardly be missed in the English treasury was immense in the estimation of the needy barons of the North.<sup>1</sup> Thus the scale was turned; and, in the Scottish Parliaments of that age, the turn of the scale was everything: the tendency of majorities was almost always to increase, the tendency of minorities to diminish.

The first question on which a vote was taken related to the election for a borough. The ministers carried their point by six voices.<sup>2</sup> In an instant everything was changed: the spell was broken: the Club, from being a bugbear, became a laughing-stock: the timid and the venal passed over in crowds from the weaker to the stronger side. It was in vain that the opposition attempted to revive the disputes of the preceding year. The King had wisely authorized Melville to give up the Committee of Articles. The Estates, on the other hand, showed no disposition to pass another Act of Incapacitation, to censure the government for opening the Courts of Justice, or to question the right of the Sovereign to name the Judges. An extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> See the instructions to the Lord High Commissioner in the *Leven and Melville Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Balcarras.

supply was voted, small, according to the notions of English financiers, but large for the means of Scotland. The sum granted was a hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds sterling, to be raised in the course of four years.<sup>1</sup>

The Jacobites, who had found that they had forsworn themselves to no purpose, sat, bowed down by shame and writhing with vexation, while Montgomery, who had deceived himself and them, and who, in his rage, had utterly lost, not indeed his parts and his fluency, but all decorum and self-command, scolded like a waterman on the Thames, and was answered with equal asperity and even more than equal ability by Sir John Dalrymple.<sup>2</sup>

The most important acts of this Session were those which fixed the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland.

By the Claim of Right it had been declared that the authority of Bishops was an insupportable grievance; and William, by accepting the crown, had bound himself not to uphold an institution condemned by the very instrument on which his title to the crown depended. But the Claim of Right had not defined the form of Church government which was to be substituted for episcopacy; and, during the stormy Session held in the summer of 1689, the violence of the Club had made legislation impossible. During many months, therefore, everything had been in confusion. One polity had been pulled down; and no other polity had been set up. In the Western Lowlands, the beneficed clergy had been so effectually rabbled, that scarcely one of them had remained at his post. In Berwickshire, the three

Ecclesiastical  
legislation.

<sup>1</sup> Act. Parl., June 7, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Balcarras.



Lothians, and Stirlingshire, most of the curates had been removed by the Privy Council for not obeying that vote of the Convention which had directed all ministers of parishes, on pain of deprivation, to proclaim William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland. Thus, throughout a great part of the realm, there was no public worship, except what was performed by Presbyterian divines, who sometimes officiated in tents, and sometimes, without any legal right, took possession of the churches. But there were large districts, especially on the north of the Tay, where the people had no strong feeling against episcopacy ; and there were many priests who were not disposed to lose their manes and stipends for the sake of King James. Hundreds of the old curates, therefore, having been neither hunted by the populace nor deposed by the Council, still continued to exercise their spiritual functions. Every minister was, during this time of transition, free to conduct the service and to administer the sacraments as he thought fit. There was no controlling authority. The legislature had taken away the jurisdiction of Bishops, and had not established the jurisdiction of Synods.<sup>1</sup>

To put an end to this anarchy was one of the first duties of the Parliament. Melville had, with the powerful assistance of Carstairs, obtained from the King, in spite of the remonstrances of English statesmen and divines, authority to assent to such ecclesiastical arrangements as might satisfy the Scottish nation. One of the first laws which the Lord Commissioner touched with the sceptre repealed the Act of Supremacy.

<sup>1</sup> *Faithful Contendings Displayed ; Case of the Present Afflicted Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, 1690.*

He next gave the royal assent to a law enacting that the Presbyterian divines who had been pastors of parishes in the days of the Covenant, and had, after the Restoration, been ejected for refusing to acknowledge episcopal authority, should be restored. The number of those pastors had originally been about three hundred and fifty: but not more than sixty were still living.<sup>1</sup>

The Estates then proceeded to fix the national creed. The Confession of Faith drawn up by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the Longer and Shorter Catechism, and the Directory, were considered by every good Presbyterian as the standards of orthodoxy; and it was hoped that the legislature would recognize them as such.<sup>2</sup> This hope, however, was in part disappointed. The Confession was read at length, amidst much yawning, and adopted without alteration. But when it was proposed that the Catechisms and the Directory should be taken into consideration, the ill-humor of the audience broke forth into murmurs. For that love of long sermons which was strong in the Scottish commonalty, was not shared by the Scottish aristocracy. The Parliament had already been listening during three hours to dry theology, and was not inclined to hear anything more about original sin and election. The Duke of Hamilton said that the Estates had already done all that was essential. They had given their sanction to a digest of the great principles

<sup>1</sup> Act. Parl., April 25, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> See the Humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland to His Grace His Majesty's High Commissioner and to the Right Honorable the Estates of Parliament.

of Christianity. The rest might well be left to the Church. The weary majority eagerly assented, in spite of the muttering of some zealous Presbyterian ministers who had been admitted to hear the debate, and who could sometimes hardly restrain themselves from taking part in it.<sup>1</sup>

The memorable law which fixed the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland was brought in by the Earl of Sutherland. By this law the synodical polity was re-established. The rule of the Church was intrusted to the sixty ejected ministers who had just been restored, and to such other persons, whether ministers or elders, as the Sixty should think fit to admit to a participation of power. The Sixty and their nominees were authorized to visit all the parishes in the kingdom, and to turn out all ministers who were deficient in ability, scandalous in morals, or unsound in faith. Those parishes which had, during the interregnum, been deserted by their pastors, or, in plain words, those parishes of which the pastors had been rabbled, were declared vacant.<sup>2</sup>

To the clause which re-established synodical government no serious opposition appears to have been made. But three days were spent in discussing the question whether the Sovereign should have power to convoke and to dissolve ecclesiastical assemblies ; and the point was at last left in dangerous ambiguity. Some other clauses were long and vehemently debated. It was said that the immense power given to the Sixty was incom-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Account of the Late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, Anno 1690*. This is an Episcopalian narrative. Act. Parl., May 26, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Act. Parl., June 7, 1690.

patible with the fundamental principle of the polity which the Estates were about to set up. That principle was that all presbyters were equal, and that there ought to be no order of ministers of religion superior to the order of presbyters. What did it matter whether the Sixty were called prelates or not, if they were to lord it with more than prelatical authority over God's heritage? To the argument that the proposed arrangement was, in the very peculiar circumstances of the Church, the most convenient that could be made, the objectors replied that such reasoning might suit the mouth of an Erastian, but that all orthodox Presbyterians held the parity of ministers to be ordained by Christ, and that, where Christ had spoken, Christians were not at liberty to consider what was convenient.<sup>1</sup>

With much greater warmth and much stronger reason, the minority attacked the clause which sanctioned the lawless acts of the Western fanatics. Surely, it was said, a rabbled curate might well be left to the severe scrutiny of the sixty Inquisitors. If he was deficient in parts or learning, if he was loose in life, if he was heterodox in doctrine, those stern judges would not fail to detect and to depose him. They would probably think a game at bowls, a prayer borrowed from the English Liturgy, or a sermon in which the slightest taint of Arminianism could be discovered, a sufficient reason for pronouncing his benefice vacant. Was it not monstrous, after constituting a tribunal from which he could scarcely hope for bare justice, to condemn him without allowing him to appear even before

<sup>1</sup> *An Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly in a Letter from a Person in Edinburgh to his Friend in London.* London, licensed April 20, 1691.

that tribunal, to condemn him without a trial, to condemn him without an accusation ? Did ever any grave senate, since the beginning of the world, treat a man as a criminal merely because he had been robbed, pelted, hustled, dragged through snow and mire, and threatened with death if he returned to the house which was his by law ? The Duke of Hamilton, glad to have so good an opportunity of attacking the new Lord Commissioner, spoke with great vehemence against this odious clause. We are told that no attempt was made to answer him ; and, though those who tell us so were zealous Episcopalians, we may believe their report : for what answer was it possible to return ? Melville, on whom the chief responsibility lay, sat on the throne in profound silence through the whole of this tempestuous debate. It is probable that his conduct was determined by considerations which prudence and shame prevented him from explaining. The state of the South-western shires was such that it would have been impossible to put the rabbled ministers in possession of their dwellings and churches without employing a military force, without garrisoning every manse, without placing guards round every pulpit, and without handing over some ferocious enthusiasts to the Provost-marshal ; and it would be no easy task for the government to keep down by the sword at once the Jacobites of the Highlands and the Covenanters of the Lowlands. The majority, having, for reasons which could not well be produced, made up their minds, became clamorous for the question. “ No more debate,” was the cry : “ we have heard enough : a vote ! a vote ! ” The question was put according to the Scottish form. “ Approve or not approve the article ? ” Hamilton insisted that



the question should be, "Approve or not approve the rabbling?" After much altercation, he was overruled, and the clause passed. Only fifteen or sixteen members voted with him. He warmly and loudly exclaimed, amidst much angry interruption, that he was sorry to see a Scottish Parliament disgrace itself by such iniquity. He then left the house with several of his friends. It is impossible not to sympathize with the indignation which he expressed. Yet we ought to remember that it is the nature of injustice to generate injustice. There are wrongs which it is almost impossible to repair without committing other wrongs; and such a wrong had been done to the people of Scotland in the preceding generation. It was because the Parliament of the Restoration had legislated in insolent defiance of the sense of the nation that the Parliament of the Revolution had to abase itself before the mob.

When Hamilton and his adherents had retired, one of the preachers who had been admitted to the hall called out to the members who were near him: "Fie! Fie! Do not lose time. Make haste, and get all over before he comes back." This advice was taken. Four or five sturdy Prelatists stayed to give a last vote against Presbytery. Four or five equally sturdy Covenanters stayed to mark their dislike of what seemed to them a compromise between the Lord and Baal. But the act was passed by an overwhelming majority.<sup>1</sup>

Two supplementary acts speedily followed. One of them, now happily repealed, required every office-bearer in every University of Scotland to sign the Confession of Faith and to give in his adhesion to the new form of

<sup>1</sup> *Account of the Late Establishment of the Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, 1690.*

Church government.<sup>1</sup> The other, long ago most unhappily repealed, settled the important and delicate question of patronage. Knox had, in the First Book of Discipline, asserted the right of every Christian congregation to choose its own pastor. Melville had not, in the Second Book of Discipline, gone quite so far : but he had declared that no pastor could lawfully be forced on an unwilling congregation. Patronage had been abolished by a Covenanted Parliament in 1649, and restored by a Royalist Parliament in 1661. What ought to be done in 1690 it was no easy matter to decide. Scarcely any question seems to have caused so much anxiety to William. He had, in his private instructions, given the Lord Commissioner authority to assent to the abolition of patronage, if nothing else would satisfy the Estates. But this authority was most unwillingly given ; and the King hoped that it would not be used. " It is," he said, " the taking of men's property." Melville succeeded in effecting a compromise. Patronage was abolished : but it was enacted that every patron should receive six hundred marks Scots, equivalent to about thirty-five pounds sterling, as a compensation for his rights. The sum seems ludicrously small. Yet when the nature of the property and the poverty of the country are considered, it may be doubted whether a patron would have made much more by going into the market. The largest sum that any member ventured to suggest was nine hundred marks, little more than fifty pounds sterling. The right of proposing a minister was given to a parochial council consisting of the Protestant landowners and the elders. The congregation might object

<sup>1</sup> Act. Parl., July 4, 1690.

to the person proposed ; and the Presbytery was to judge of the objections. This arrangement did not give to the people all the power to which even the Second Book of Discipline had declared that they were entitled. But the odious name of patronage was taken away : it was probably thought that the elders and land-owners of a parish would seldom persist in nominating a person to whom the majority of the congregation had strong objections ; and, indeed, it does not appear that, while the Act of 1690 continued in force, the peace of the Church was ever broken by disputes such as produced the schisms of 1732, of 1756, and of 1843.<sup>1</sup>

Montgomery had done all in his power to prevent the Estates from settling the political polity of the realm. He had incited the zealous Covenanters to demand what he knew that the government would never grant. He had protested against all Erastianism, against all compromise. Dutch Presbyterianism, he said, would not do for Scotland. She must have again the system of 1649. That system was deduced from the Word of God : it was the most powerful check that had ever been devised on the tyranny of wicked kings ; and it ought to be restored without addition or diminution. His Jacobite allies could not conceal their disgust and mortification at hearing him hold such language, and were by no means satisfied with the explanations which he gave them in private. While they were wrangling with him on this subject, a messenger arrived at Edinburgh with important despatches from

<sup>1</sup> Act. Parl., July 19, 1690 ; Lockhart to Melville, April 29, 1690.

James and from Mary of Modena. These despatches had been written in the confident expectation that the large promises of Montgomery would be fulfilled, and that the Scottish Estates would, under his dexterous management, declare for the rightful Sovereign against the Usurper. James was so grateful for the unexpected support of his old enemies that he entirely forgot the services, and disregarded the feelings of his old friends. The three chiefs of the Club, rebels and Puritans as they were, had become his favorites. Annandale was to be a Marquess, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and Lord High Commissioner. Montgomery was to be Earl of Ayr and Secretary of State, Ross was to be an earl, and to command the guards. James Stewart, the most unprincipled of lawyers, who had been deeply concerned in Argyle's insurrection, who had changed sides and supported the dispensing power, who had then changed sides a second time and concurred in the Revolution, and who had now changed sides a third time and was scheming to bring about a Restoration, was to be Lord Advocate. The Privy Council, the Court of Session, the army, were to be filled with Whigs. A Council of Five was appointed, which all loyal subjects were to obey; and in this Council Annandale, Ross, and Montgomery formed the majority. Mary of Modena informed Montgomery that five thousand pounds sterling had been remitted to his order, and that five thousand more would soon follow. It was impossible that Balcarras and those who acted with him should not bitterly resent the manner in which they were treated. Their names were not even mentioned. All that they had done and suffered seemed to have faded from their master's mind. He

had now given them fair notice that if they should, at the hazard of their lands and lives, succeed in restoring him, all that he had to give would be given to those who had deposed him. They too, when they read his letters, knew, what he did not know when the letters were written, that he had been duped by the too confident boasts and promises of the apostate Whigs. He, when he despatched his messengers, imagined that the Club was omnipotent at Edinburgh ; and, before the messengers reached Edinburgh, the Club had become a mere byword of contempt. The Tory Jacobites easily found pretexts for refusing to obey the Presbyterian Jacobites to whom the banished king had delegated his authority. They complained that Montgomery had not shown them all the despatches which he had received. They affected to suspect that he had tampered with the seals. He called God Almighty to witness that the suspicion was unfounded. But oaths were very naturally disregarded as insufficient guarantees by men who had just been swearing allegiance to a King against whom they were conspiring. There was a violent outbreak of passion on both sides : the coalition was dissolved : the papers were flung into the fire ; and in a few days the infamous triumvirs, who had been, in the short space of a year, violent Williamites and violent Jacobites, became Williamites again, and attempted to make their peace with the government by accusing each other.<sup>1</sup>

Ross was the first to turn informer. After the fashion of the school in which he had been bred, he committed this base action with all the forms of sanctity. He pre-

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras ; Confession of Annandale in the *Leven and Melville Papers*.



tended to be greatly troubled in mind, sent for a celebrated Presbyterian minister named Dunlop, and be-

The chiefs of the Club betray each other. moaned himself piteously : “ There is a load on my conscience : there is a secret which I know that I ought to disclose : but I cannot bring myself to do it.” Dunlop prayed long

and fervently : Ross groaned and wept : at last it seemed that heaven had been stormed by the violence of supplication : the truth came out, and many lies with it. The divine and the penitent then returned thanks together. Dunlop went with the news to Melville. Ross set off for England to make his peace at court, and performed his journey in safety, though some of his accomplices, who had heard of his repentance, but had been little edified by it, had laid plans for cutting his throat by the way. At London he protested, on his honor, and on the word of a gentleman, that he had been drawn in, that he had always disliked the plot, and that Montgomery and Ferguson were the real criminals.<sup>1</sup>

Dunlop was, in the meantime, magnifying, wherever he went, the divine goodness which had, by so humble an instrument as himself, brought a noble person back to the right path. Montgomery no sooner heard of this wonderful work of grace than he too began to experience compunction. He went to Melville, made a confession not exactly coinciding with Ross's, and obtained a pass for England. William was then in Ireland ; and Mary was governing in his stead. At her feet Montgomery threw himself. He tried to move her pity by speaking of his broken fortunes, and to

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras ; Notes of Ross's Confession in the *Leven and Melville Papers*.

ingratiate himself with her by praising her sweet and affable manners. He gave up to her the names of his fellow-plotters. He vowed to dedicate his whole life to her service, if she would obtain for him some place which might enable him to subsist with decency. She was so much touched by his supplications and flatteries that she recommended him to her husband's favor : but the just distrust and abhorrence with which William regarded Montgomery were not to be overcome.<sup>1</sup>

Before the traitor had been admitted to Mary's presence, he had obtained a promise that he should be allowed to depart in safety. The promise was kept. During some months, he lay hid in London, and contrived to carry on a negotiation with the government. He offered to be a witness against his accomplices on condition of having a good place. William would bid no higher than a pardon. At length the communications were broken off. Montgomery retired for a time to France. He soon returned to London, and passed the miserable remnant of his life in forming plots which came to nothing, and in writing libels which are distinguished by the grace and vigor of their style from most of the productions of the Jacobite press.<sup>2</sup>

Annandale, when he learned that his two accomplices had turned approvers, retired to Bath, and pretended to drink the waters. Thence he was soon brought up to London by a warrant. He acknowledged that he had been seduced into treason : but he declared that he

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras; Mary's account of her interview with Montgomery, printed among the *Leven and Melville Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Balcarras with Burnet, ii., 62. The pamphlet entitled *Great Britain's Just Complaint* is a good specimen of Montgomery's manner.

had only said Amen to the plans of others, and that his child-like simplicity had been imposed on by Montgomery, that worst, that falsest, that most unquiet of human beings. The noble penitent then proceeded to make atonement for his own crime by criminating other people, English and Scotch, Whig and Tory, guilty and innocent. Some he accused on his own knowledge, and some on mere hearsay. Among those whom he accused on his own knowledge was Neville Payne, who had not, it should seem, been mentioned either by Ross or by Montgomery.<sup>1</sup>

Payne, pursued by messengers and warrants, was so ill advised as to take refuge in Scotland. Had he remained in England he would have been safe: for, though the moral proofs of his guilt were complete, there was not such legal evidence as would have satisfied a jury that he had committed high-treason: he could not be subjected to torture in order to force him to furnish evidence against himself; nor could he be long confined without being brought to trial. But the moment that he passed the border he was at the mercy of the government of which he was the deadly foe. The Claim of Right had recognized torture as, in cases like his, a legitimate mode of obtaining information; and no Habeas Corpus Act secured him against a long detention. The unhappy man was arrested, carried to Edinburgh, and brought before the Privy Council. The general notion was, that he was a knave and a coward, and that the first sight of the boots and thumb-screws would bring out all the guilty secrets with which he had been intrusted. But Payne had a far braver spirit than those high-born plotters with whom it was

<sup>1</sup> Balcarras; Annandale's Confession.

his misfortune to have been connected. Twice he was subjected to frightful torments ; but not a word inculcating himself or any other person could be wrung out of him. Some councillors left the board in horror. But the pious Crawford presided. He was not much troubled with the weakness of compassion where an Amalekite was concerned, and forced the executioner to hammer in wedge after wedge between the knees of the prisoner till the pain was as great as the human frame can sustain without dissolution. Payne was then carried to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he long remained, utterly forgotten, as he touchingly complained, by those for whose sake he had endured more than the bitterness of death. Yet no ingratitude could damp the ardor of his fanatical loyalty ; and he continued, year after year, in his cell, to plan insurrections and invasions.<sup>1</sup>

Before Payne's arrest the Estates had been adjourned after a Session as important as any that had ever been held in Scotland. The nation generally acquiesced in the new ecclesiastical constitution. The indifferent, a large portion of every society, were glad that the anarchy was over, and conformed to the Presbyterian Church as they had conformed to the Episcopal Church. To the moderate Presbyterians the settlement which had been made was on the whole satisfactory. Most of the strict Presbyterians brought themselves to accept it under protest, as a large instalment of what was due. They missed, indeed, what they considered as the per-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 62 ; Lockhart to Melville, Aug. 30, 1690 ; and Crawford to Melville, Dec. 11, 1690, in the *Leven and Melville Papers* ; Neville Payne's letter of Dec. 3, 1692, printed in 1693.

General acquiescence in the new ecclesiastical polity.

fect beauty and symmetry of that Church which had, forty years before, been the glory of Scotland. But, though the second temple was not equal to the first, the chosen people might well rejoice to think that they were, after a long captivity in Babylon, suffered to rebuild, though imperfectly, the House of God on the old foundations ; nor could it misbecome them to feel for the latitudinarian William a grateful affection such as the restored Jews had felt for the heathen Cyrus.

There were, however, two parties which regarded the settlement of 1690 with implacable detestation.

Complaints of the Episcopalians. Those Scotchmen who were Episcopalians on conviction and with fervor appear to have been few : but among them were some persons superior, not perhaps in natural parts, but in learning, in taste, and in the art of composition, to the theologians of the sect which had now become dominant. It might not have been safe for the ejected Curates and Professors to give vent in their own country to the anger which they felt. But the English press was open to them ; and they were sure of the approbation of a large part of the English people. During several years they continued to torment their enemies and to amuse the public with a succession of ingenious and spirited pamphlets. In some of these works the hardships suffered by the rabbled priests of the Western shires are set forth with a skill which irresistibly moves pity and indignation. In others, the cruelty with which the Covenanters had been treated during the reigns of the last two kings of the House of Stuart is extenuated by every artifice of sophistry. There is much joking on the bad Latin which some Presbyterian teachers had uttered while seated in aca-



demic chairs lately occupied by great scholars. Much was said about the ignorant contempt which the victorious barbarians professed for science and literature. They were accused of anathematizing the modern systems of natural philosophy as damnable heresies, of condemning geometry as a soul-destroying pursuit, of discouraging even the study of those tongues in which the sacred books were written. Learning, it was said, would soon be extinct in Scotland. The Universities, under their new rulers, were languishing and must soon perish. The booksellers had been half ruined : they found that the whole profit of their business would not pay the rent of their shops, and were preparing to emigrate to some country where letters were held in esteem by those whose office was to instruct the public. Among the ministers of religion no purchaser of books was left. The Episcopalian divine was glad to sell for a morsel of bread whatever part of his library had not been torn to pieces or burned by the Christian mobs ; and the only library of a Presbyterian divine consisted of an explanation of the Apocalypse and a commentary on the Song of Songs.<sup>1</sup> The pulpit oratory of the triumphant party was an inexhaustible subject of mirth. One little volume, entitled the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed, had an immense success in the South among both High-Churchmen and scoffers, and is not yet quite forgotten. It was, indeed, a book well fitted to lie on the hall table of a squire whose religion consisted in hating extempo-

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly*, 1691 ; *The Presbyterian Inquisition as it was lately Practised against the Professors of the College of Edinburgh*, 1691.

aneous prayer and nasal psalmody. On a rainy day, when it was impossible to hunt or shoot, neither the card-table nor the backgammon-board would have been, in the intervals of the flagon and the pasty, so agreeable a resource. Nowhere else, perhaps, can be found, in so small a compass, so large a collection of ludicrous quotations and anecdotes. Some grave men, however, who bore no love to the Calvinistic doctrine or discipline, shook their heads over this lively jest-book, and hinted their opinion that the writer, while holding up to derision the absurd rhetoric by which coarse-minded and ignorant men tried to illustrate dark questions of theology and to excite devotional feeling among the populace, had sometimes forgotten the reverence due to sacred things. The effect which tracts of this sort produced on the public mind of England could not be fully discerned while England and Scotland were independent of each other, but manifested itself, very soon after the union of the kingdoms, in a way which we still have reason, and which our posterity will probably long have reason, to lament.

The extreme Presbyterians were as much out of humor as the extreme Prelatists and were as little inclined as the extreme Prelatists to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. Indeed, though the Jacobite nonjuror and the Cameronian nonjuror were diametrically opposed to each other in opinion, though they regarded each other with mortal aversion, though neither of them would have had any scruple about persecuting the other, they had much in common. They were, perhaps, the two most remarkable specimens that the world could show of perverse absurdity. Each of them

The Presby-  
terian non-  
jurors.

considered his darling form of ecclesiastical polity, not as a means, but as an end, as the one thing needful, as the quintessence of the Christian religion. Each of them childishly fancied that he had found a theory of civil government in his Bible. Neither shrank from the frightful consequences to which his theory led. To all objections both had one answer—Thus saith the Lord. Both agreed in boasting that the arguments which to atheistical politicians seemed irrefragable presented no difficulty to the saint. It might be perfectly true that, by relaxing the rigor of his principles, he might save his country from slavery, anarchy, universal ruin. But his business was not to save his country, but to save his soul. He obeyed the commands of God, and left the event to God. One of the two fanatical sects held that, to the end of time, the nation would be bound to obey the heir of the Stuarts: the other held that, to the end of time, the nation would be bound by the Solemn League and Covenant; and thus both agreed in regarding the new Sovereigns as usurpers.

The Presbyterian nonjurors have scarcely been heard of out of Scotland; and perhaps it may not now be generally known, even in Scotland, that they still continue to form a distinct class. They maintained that their country was under a precontract to the Most High, and could never, while the world lasted, enter into any engagement inconsistent with that precontract. An Erastian, a latitudinarian, a man who knelt to receive the bread and wine from the hands of bishops, and who bore, though not very patiently, to hear anthems chanted by choristers in white vestments, could not be King of a covenanted kingdom. William

had, moreover, forfeited all claim to the crown by committing that sin for which, in the old time, a dynasty preternaturally appointed had been preternaturally deposed. He had connived at the escape of his father-in-law, that idolater, that murderer, that man of Belial, who ought to have been hewn in pieces before the Lord, like Agag. Nay, the crime of William had exceeded that of Saul. Saul had spared only one Amalekite, and had smitten the rest. What Amalekite had William smitten? The pure Church had been twenty-eight years under persecution. Her children had been imprisoned, transported, branded, shot, hanged, drowned, tortured. And yet he who called himself her deliverer had not suffered her to see her desire upon her enemies.<sup>1</sup> The bloody Claverhouse had been graciously received at Saint James's. The bloody Mackenzie had found a secure and luxurious retreat among the malignants of Oxford. The younger Dalrymple, who had prosecuted the saints, the elder Dalrymple who

<sup>1</sup> One of the most curious of the many curious papers written by the Covenanters of that generation is entitled *Nathaniel; or, the Dying Testimony of John Matthieson in Closeburn*. Matthieson did not die till 1709, but his Testimony was written some years earlier, when he was in expectation of death. "And now," he says, "I, as a dying man, would, in a few words tell you that are to live behind me my thoughts as to the times. When I saw, or rather heard the Prince and Princess of Orange being set up as they were, and his pardoning all the murderers of the saints, and receiving all the bloody beasts, soldiers, and others, all these officers of their state and army, and all the bloody counsellors, civil and ecclesiastic, and his letting slip that son of Belial, his father-in-law, who, both by all the laws of God and man, ought to have died, I knew he would do no good to the cause and work of God."

had sat in judgment on the saints, were great and powerful. It was said, by careless Gallios, that there was no choice but between William and James, and that it was wisdom to choose the less of two evils. Such was, indeed, the wisdom of this world. But the wisdom which was from above taught us that of two things, both of which were evil in the sight of God, we should choose neither. As soon as James was restored, it would be a duty to disown and withstand him. The present duty was to disown and withstand his son-in-law. Nothing must be said, nothing must be done, that could be construed into a recognition of the authority of the man from Holland. The godly must pay no duties to him, must hold no offices under him, must receive no wages from him, must sign no instruments in which he was styled King. Anne succeeded William ; and Anne was designated, by those who called themselves the Reformed Presbytery, and the remnant of the true Church, as the pretended Queen, the wicked woman, the Jezebel. George the First succeeded Anne ; and George the First was the pretended King, the German Beast.<sup>1</sup> George the Second succeeded George the First : George the Second, too, was a pretended King ; and he was accused of having outdone the wickedness of his wicked predecessors by passing a law in defiance of that divine law which ordains that no witch shall be

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dying Testimony of Mr. Robert Smith, Student of Divinity, who lived in Douglas Town, in the Shire of Clydesdale, who died about two o'clock in the Sabbath morning, Dec. 13, 1724, aged 58 years ; and the Dying Testimony of William Wilson, sometime School-master of Park in the Parish of Douglas, aged 68, who died May 7, 1757.*



suffered to live.<sup>1</sup> George the Third succeeded George the Second ; and still these men continued, with unabated steadfastness, though in language less ferocious than before, to disclaim all allegiance to an uncovenanted Sovereign.<sup>2</sup> At length this schismatical body was subdivided by a new schism. The majority of the Reformed Presbyterians, though they still refused to swear fealty to the Sovereign or to hold office under him, thought themselves justified in praying for him, in paying tribute to him, and in accepting his protection. But there was a minority which would hear of no compromise. So late as the year 1806, a few persons were still bearing their public testimony against the sin of owning an Anti-christian government by paying taxes, by taking out excise licenses, or by laboring on public works.<sup>3</sup> The number of these

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dying Testimony of William Wilson*, mentioned in the last note. It ought to be remarked that, on the subject of witchcraft, the Divines of the Associate Presbytery were as absurd as this poor crazy Dominie. See their *Act, Declaration, and Testimony*, published in 1773 by Adam Gib.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1791, Thomas Henderson of Paisley wrote, in defence of the Reformed Presbytery, against a writer who had charged them with "disowning the present excellent sovereign as the lawful King of Great Britain." "The Reformed Presbytery and their connections," says Mr. Henderson, "have not been much accustomed to give flattering titles to princes." . . . "However, they entertain no resentment against the person of the present occupant, nor any of the good qualities which he possesses. They sincerely wish that he were more excellent than external royalty can make him, that he were adorned with the image of Christ," &c., &c., &c. "But they can by no means acknowledge him, nor any of the episcopal persuasion, to be a lawful king over these covenanted lands."

<sup>3</sup> An enthusiast, named George Calderwood, in his preface to

zealots went on diminishing, till at length they were so thinly scattered over Scotland that they were nowhere numerous enough to have a meeting-house, and were known by the name of the Non-hearers. They, however, still assembled and prayed in private dwellings, and still persisted in considering themselves as the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people, which, amidst the common degeneracy, alone preserved the faith of a better age. It is by no means improbable that this superstition, the most irrational and the most unsocial into which Protestant Christianity has ever been corrupted by

a *Collection of Dying Testimonies*, published in 1806, accuses the Reformed Presbytery of scandalous compliances. "As for the Reformed Presbytery," he says, "though they profess to own the martyrs' testimony in hairs and hoofs, yet they have now adopted so many new distinctions, and given up their old ones, that they have made it so evident that it is neither the martyrs' testimony nor yet the one that that Presbytery adopted at first that they are now maintaining. When the Reformed Presbytery was in its infancy, and had some appearance of honesty and faithfulness among them, they were blamed by all the other parties for using of distinctions that no man could justify, *i. e.*, they would not admit into their communion those that paid the land-tax or subscribed tacks to do so; but now they can admit into their communions both rulers and members who voluntarily pay all taxes and subscribe tacks." . . .

"It shall be only referred to government's books, since the commencement of the French war, how many of their own members have accepted of places of trust, to be at government's call, such as bearers of arms, driving of cattle, stopping of ways, &c.; and what is all their license for trading by sea or land but a serving under government?" The doctrines of those more moderate nonjurors who call themselves the Reformed Presbyterian Church have been recently set forth in a Prize Catechism by the Reverend Thomas Martin.

human prejudices and passions, may still linger in a few obscure farm-houses.

The King was but half satisfied with the manner in which the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland had been settled. He thought that the Episcopalians

William dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical arrangements in Scotland.

had been hardly used ; and he apprehended that they might be still more hardly used when the new system was fully organized.

He had been very desirous that the act which established the Presbyterian Church

should be accompanied by an act allowing persons who were not members of that Church to hold their own religious assemblies freely ; and he had particularly directed Melville to look to this.<sup>1</sup> But some popular preachers harangued so vehemently at Edinburgh against liberty of conscience, which they called the mystery of iniquity, that Melville did not venture to obey his master's instructions. A draught of a Toleration Act was offered to the Parliament by a private member, but was coldly received and suffered to drop.<sup>2</sup>

William, however, was fully determined to prevent the dominant sect from indulging in the luxury of per-

Meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

secution ; and he took an early opportunity of announcing his determination. The first

General Assembly of the newly established Church met soon after his return from

Ireland. It was necessary that he should

appoint a commissioner and send a letter. Some zealous Presbyterians hoped that Crawford would be the Commissioner ; and the ministers of Edinburgh drew

<sup>1</sup> The King to Melville, May 22, 1690, in the *Leven and Melville Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> *Account of the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.*

up a paper in which they very intelligibly hinted that this was their wish. William, however, selected Lord Carmichael, a nobleman distinguished by good sense, humanity, and moderation.<sup>1</sup> The royal letter to the Assembly was eminently wise in substance and impressive in language. "We expect," the King wrote, "that your management shall be such that we may have no reason to repent of what we have done. We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion ; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins, what neighboring Churches expect from you, and what we recommend to you." The Sixty and their associates would probably have been glad to reply in language resembling that which, as some of them could well remember, had been held by the clergy to Charles the Second during his residence in Scotland. But they had just been informed that there was in England a strong feeling in favor of the rabbled curates, and that it would, at such a conjuncture, be madness in the body which represented the Presbyterian Church to quarrel with the King.<sup>2</sup> The Assembly, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Carmichael's good qualities are fully admitted by the Episcopalians. See the *Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General Assembly* and the *Presbyterian Inquisition*.

<sup>2</sup> See, in the *Leven and Melville Papers*, Melville's Letters written from London at this time to Crawford, Rule, Williamson, and other vehement Presbyterians. He says : "The clergy that were putt out, and come up, make a great clamor : many here encourage and rejoyce at it. . . . There is nothing now but the greatest sobriety and moderation imaginable to be used, unless we will hazard the overturning of all and take this as earnest, and not as imaginations and fears only."









returned a grateful and respectful answer to the royal letter, and assured His Majesty that they had suffered too much from oppression ever to be oppressors.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the troops all over the Continent were going into winter-quarters. The campaign had everywhere been indecisive. The victory gained by Luxemburg at Fleurus had produced no important effect. On the Upper Rhine great armies had eyed each other, month after month, without exchanging a blow. In Catalonia a few small forts had been taken. In the east of Europe the Turks had been successful on some points, the Christians on other points; and the termination of the contest seemed to be as remote as ever. The coalition had in the course of the year lost one valuable member, and gained another. The Duke of Lorraine, the ablest captain in the Imperial service, was no more. He had died, as he had lived, an exile and a wanderer, and had bequeathed to his children nothing but his name and his rights. It was popularly said that the confederacy could better have spared thirty thousand soldiers than such a general. But scarcely had the allied courts gone into mourning for him when they were consoled by learning that another prince, superior to him in power, and not inferior to him in capacity or courage, had joined the league against France.

This was Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. He was a young man: but he was already versed in those arts for which the statesmen of Italy had, ever since the thirteenth century, been celebrated, those arts by which

<sup>1</sup> *Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held in and begun at Edinburgh the 16th day of October, 1690; Edinburgh, 1691.*

Castruccio Castracani and Francis Sforza rose to greatness, and which Machiavel reduced to a system.

The Duke of Savoy joins the coalition. No sovereign in modern Europe has, with so small a principality, exercised so great an influence during so long a period.

He had for a time submitted, with a show of cheerfulness, but with secret reluctance and resentment, to the French ascendancy. When the war broke out, he professed neutrality, but entered into private negotiations with the House of Austria. He would probably have continued to dissemble till he found some opportunity of striking an unexpected blow, had not his crafty schemes been disconcerted by the decision and vigor of Lewis. A French army commanded by Catinat, an officer of great skill and valor, marched into Piedmont. The Duke was informed that his conduct had excited suspicions which he could remove only by admitting foreign garrisons into Turin and Vercelli. He found that he must be either the slave or the open enemy of his powerful and imperious neighbor. His choice was soon made; and a war began which, during seven years, found employment for some of the best generals and best troops of Lewis. An Envoy Extraordinary from Savoy went to the Hague, proceeded thence to London, presented his credentials in the Banqueting-house, and addressed to William a speech which was speedily translated into many languages and read in every part of Europe. The orator congratulated the King on the success of that great enterprise which had restored England to her ancient place among the nations, and had broken the chains of Europe. "That my master," he said, "can now at length venture to express feelings which have been

long concealed in the recesses of his heart, is part of the debt which he owes to Your Majesty. You have inspired him with the hope of freedom after so many years of bondage." <sup>1</sup>

It had been determined that, during the approaching winter, a Congress of all the powers hostile to France should be held at the Hague. William was impatient to proceed thither. But it was necessary that he should first hold a session of Parliament. Early in October the Houses reassembled at Westminster. The members had generally come up in good-humor. Those Tories whom it was possible to conciliate had been conciliated by the Act of Grace, and by the large share which they had obtained of the favors of the crown. Those Whigs who were capable of learning had learned much from the lesson which William had given them, and had ceased to expect that he would descend from the rank of a King to that of a party leader. Both Whigs and Tories had, with few exceptions, been alarmed by the prospect of a French invasion, and cheered by the news of the victory of the Boyne. The Sovereign who had shed his blood for their nation and their religion stood at this moment higher in public estimation than at any time since his accession. His speech from the throne called forth the loud acclamations of Lords and Commons.<sup>2</sup> Thanks were unanimously voted by both Houses to the King for his achievements in Ireland, and to the Queen for the prudence with which she had, during his absence, governed England.<sup>3</sup> Thus commenced a session dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Monthly Mercuries; London Gazettes* of November 3 and 6, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Van Citters to the States-general, Oct.  $\frac{3}{13}$ , 1690.

<sup>3</sup> *Lords' Journals*, Oct. 6, 1690; *Commons' Journals*, Oct. 8.

tinguished among the sessions of that reign by harmony and tranquillity. No report of the debates has been preserved, unless a long forgotten lampoon, in which some of the speeches made on the first day are burlesqued in doggerel rhymes, may be called a report.<sup>1</sup> The time of the Commons appears to have been chiefly occupied in discussing questions arising out of the elections of the preceding spring. The supplies necessary for the war, though large, were granted with alacrity. The number of regular troops for the next year was fixed at seventy thousand, of whom twelve thousand were to be horse or dragoons. The charge of this army, the greatest that England had ever maintained, amounted to about two million three hundred thousand pounds; the charge of the navy to about eighteen hundred thousand pounds. The charge of the ordnance was included in these sums, and was roughly estimated at one-eighth of the naval and one-fifth of the military expenditure.<sup>2</sup> The whole of the extraordinary aid granted to the King exceeded four millions.

The Commons justly thought that the extraordinary liberality with which they had provided for the public service entitled them to demand extraordinary securities against waste and peculation. A bill was brought in empowering nine Commissioners to examine and state the public accounts.<sup>3</sup> The nine were named in

<sup>1</sup> I am not aware that this lampoon has ever been printed. I have seen it only in two contemporary manuscripts. It is entitled *The Opening of the Session*, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Oct. 9, 10, 13, 14, 1690.

<sup>3</sup> *Commons' Journals* of December, 1690, particularly of Dec. 26; Stat. 2 W. & M., sess. 2, c. 11.



the bill, and were all members of the Lower House. The Lords agreed to the bill without amendments ; and the King gave his assent.

The debates on the Ways and Means occupied a considerable part of the Session. It was resolved that six-

Ways and  
Means.

teen hundred and fifty thousand pounds should be raised by a direct monthly assessment on land. The excise duties on ale and beer were doubled ; and the import duties on raw silk, linen, timber, glass, and other articles were increased.<sup>1</sup> Thus far there was little difference of opinion. But soon the smooth course of business was disturbed by a proposition which was much more popular than just or humane. Taxes of unprecedented severity had been imposed ; and yet it might well be doubted whether these taxes would be sufficient. Why, it was asked, should not the cost of the Irish war be borne by the Irish insurgents ? How those insurgents had acted in their mock Parliament all the world knew ; and nothing could be more reasonable than to mete to them from their own measure. They ought to be treated as they had treated the Saxon colony. Every acre which the Act of Settlement had left them ought to be seized by the state for the purpose of defraying that expense which their turbulence and perverseness had made necessary. It is not strange that a plan, which at once gratified national animosity, and held out the hope of pecuniary relief, should have been welcomed with eager delight. A bill was brought in which bore too much resemblance to some of the laws passed by the Jacobite legislators of Dublin. By this bill it was provided that the property of every person who had

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 2 W. & M., sess. 2, c. 1, 3, 4.

been in rebellion against the King and Queen since the day on which they were proclaimed should be confiscated, and that the proceeds should be applied to the support of the war. An exception was made in favor of such Protestants as had merely submitted to superior force : but to Papists no indulgence was shown. The royal prerogative of clemency was limited. The King might, indeed, if such were his pleasure, spare the lives of his vanquished enemies : but he was not to be permitted to save any part of their estates from the general doom. He was not to have it in his power to grant a capitulation which should secure to Irish Roman Catholics the enjoyment of their hereditary lands. Nay, he was not to be allowed to keep faith with persons whom he had already received to mercy, who had kissed his hand, and had heard from his lips the promise of protection. An attempt was made to insert a proviso in favor of Lord Dover. Dover, who, with all his faults, was not without some English feelings, had, by defending the interests of his native country at Dublin, made himself odious to both the Irish and the French. After the battle of the Boyne his situation was deplorable. Neither at Limerick nor at Saint Germain's could he hope to be welcomed. In his despair, he threw himself at William's feet, promised to live peaceably, and was graciously assured that he had nothing to fear. Though the royal word seemed to be pledged to this unfortunate man, the Commons resolved, by a hundred and nineteen votes to a hundred and twelve, that his property should not be exempted from the general confiscation.

The bill went up to the Peers : but the Peers were not inclined to pass it without considerable amend-

ments ; and such amendments there was not time to make. Numerous heirs at law, reversioners, and creditors implored the Upper House to introduce such provisos as might secure the innocent against all danger of being involved in the punishment of the guilty. Some petitioners asked to be heard by counsel. The King had made all his arrangements for a voyage to the Hague ; and the day beyond which he could not postpone his departure drew near. The bill was therefore, happily for the honor of English legislation, consigned to that dark repository in which the abortive statutes of many generations sleep a sleep rarely disturbed by the historian or the antiquary.<sup>1</sup>

Another question, which slightly, and but slightly, discomposed the tranquillity of this short session, arose out of the disastrous and disgraceful battle of Beachy Head. Torrington had, immediately after that battle, been sent to the Tower, and had ever since remained there. A technical difficulty had arisen about the mode of bringing him to trial. There was no Lord High Admiral ; and whether the Commissioners of the Admiralty were competent to execute martial law was a point which to some jurists appeared not perfectly clear. The majority of the Judges held that the Commissioners were competent : but, for the purpose of removing all doubt, a bill was brought into the Upper House ; and to this bill several Lords offered an opposition which seems to

Proceedings  
against  
Torrington.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 67. See the *Journals* of both Houses, particularly the *Commons' Journals* of the 19th of December and the *Lords' Journals* of the 30th of December and the 1st of January. The bill itself will be found in the archives of the House of Lords.

have been most unreasonable. The proposed law, they said, was a retrospective penal law, and therefore objectionable. If they used this argument in good faith, they were ignorant of the very rudiments of the science of legislation. To make a law for punishing that which, at the time when it was done, was not punishable, is contrary to all sound principle. But a law which merely alters the criminal procedure may with perfect propriety be made applicable to past as well as to future offenses. It would have been the grossest injustice to give a retrospective operation to the law which made slave trading a felony. But there was not the smallest injustice in enacting that the Central Criminal Court should try felonies committed long before that court was in being. In *Torrington's* case the substantive law continued to be what it had always been. The definition of the crime, the amount of the penalty, remained unaltered. The only change was in the form of procedure ; and that change the legislature was perfectly justified in making retrospectively. It is, indeed, hardly possible to believe that some of those who opposed the bill were duped by the fallacy of which they condescended to make use. The truth probably is that the feeling of caste was strong among the Lords. That one of themselves should be tried for his life, by a court composed of plebeians seemed to them a degradation of their whole order. If their noble brother had offended, articles of impeachment ought to be exhibited against him : Westminster Hall ought to be fitted up : his peers ought to meet in their robes, and to give in their verdict on their honor : a Lord High Steward ought to pronounce the sentence, and to break the staff. There was an end of privilege if an earl was

to be doomed to death by tarpaulins seated round a table in the cabin of a ship. These feelings had so much influence that the bill passed the Upper House by a majority of only two.<sup>1</sup> In the Lower House, where the dignities and immunities of the nobility were regarded with no friendly feeling, there was little difference of opinion. Torrington requested to be heard at the bar, and spoke there at great length, but weakly and confusedly. He boasted of his services, of his sacrifices, and of his wounds. He abused the Dutch, the Board of Admiralty, and the Secretary of State. The bill, however, went through all its stages without a division.<sup>2</sup>

Early in December Torrington was sent under a guard down the river to Sheerness. There the Court-martial met on board of a frigate named the Kent. The investigation lasted three days; and during those days the ferment was great in London. Nothing was heard of on the exchange, in the coffee-houses, nay, even at the church doors, but Torrington. Parties ran high : wagers to an immense amount were depending : rumors were hourly arriving by land and water ; and every rumor was exaggerated and distorted by the way. From the day on which the news of the ignominious battle arrived, down to the very eve of the trial, public opinion had been very unfavorable to the prisoner. His name, we

Torrington's  
trial and  
acquittal.

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journals*, Oct. 30, 1690. The numbers are never given in the *Lords' Journals*. That the majority was only two is asserted by Ralph, who had, I suppose, some authority which I have not been able to find.

<sup>2</sup> Van Citters to the States-general, Nov.  $\frac{14}{24}$ , 1690. *The Earl of Torrington's Speech to the House of Commons*, 1710.



are told by contemporary pamphleteers, was hardly ever mentioned without a curse. But when the crisis of his fate drew nigh there was, as in our country there often is, a reaction. All his merits, his courage, his good-nature, his firm adherence to the Protestant religion in the evil times, were remembered. It was impossible to deny that he was sunk in sloth and luxury, that he neglected the most important business for his pleasures, and that he could not say No to a boon companion or to a mistress : but for these faults excuses and soft names were found. His friends used without scruple all the arts which could raise a national feeling in his favor ; and these arts were powerfully assisted by the intelligence that the hatred which was felt toward him in Holland had vented itself in indignities to some of his countrymen. The cry was that a bold, jolly, free-handed English gentleman, of whom the worst that could be said was that he liked wine and women, was to be shot in order to gratify the spite of the Dutch. What passed at the trial tended to confirm the populace in this notion. Most of the witnesses against the prisoner were Dutch officers. The Dutch rear-admiral, who took on himself the part of prosecutor, forgot himself so far as to accuse the judges of partiality. When at length, on the evening of the third day, Torrington was pronounced not guilty, many who had recently clamored for his blood seemed to be well pleased with his acquittal. He returned to London free, and with his sword by his side. As his yacht went up the Thames, every ship which he passed saluted him. He took his seat in the House of Lords, and even ventured to present himself at court. But most of the peers looked coldly on him : William would

not see him, and ordered him to be dismissed from the service.<sup>1</sup>

There was another subject about which no vote was passed by either of the Houses, but about which there is reason to believe that some acrimonious discussion took place in both. The Whigs, though much less violent than in the preceding year, could not patiently see Caermarthen as nearly prime minister as any English subject could be under a prince of William's character. Though no man could have taken a more prominent part in the Revolution than the Lord President, though no man had more to fear from a counter-revolution, his old enemies could not believe that he had from his heart renounced those arbitrary doctrines for which he had once been zealous, or that he could bear true allegiance to a government sprung from resistance. Through the last six months of 1690 he was mercilessly lampooned. Sometimes he was King Thomas, and sometimes Tom the Tyrant.<sup>2</sup> William was adjoined

Animosity of  
the Whigs  
against Caer-  
marthen.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 67, 68; Van Citters to the States-general, <sup>Nov. 20,</sup>  
Dec. <sup>Dec. 1,</sup>  $\frac{9}{19}$ ,  $\frac{12}{23}$ ,  $\frac{16}{26}$ , 1690; *An Impartial Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur, Earl of Torrington, together with some modest Remarks on the Trial and Acquittal*, 1691; *Reasons for the Trial of the Earl of Torrington by Impeachment*, 1690; *The Parable of the Bearbaiting*, 1690; *The Earl of Torrington's Speech to the House of Commons*, 1710. That Torrington was coldly received by the peers I learned from an Article in the *Noticias Ordinarias* of February 6, 1691, Madrid.

<sup>2</sup> In one Whig lampoon of this year are these lines :

“ David, we thought, succeeded Saul,  
When William rose on James's fall;  
But now King Thomas governs all.”

not to go to the Continent leaving his worst enemy close to the ear of the Queen. Halifax, who had, in the preceding year, been ungenerously and ungratefully persecuted by the Whigs, was now mentioned by them with respect and regret : for he was the enemy of their enemy.<sup>1</sup> The face, the figure, the bodily infirmities of Caermarthen were ridiculed.<sup>2</sup> Those dealings with the French court in which, twelve years before, he had, rather by his misfortune than by his fault, been implicated, were represented in the most odious colors. He was reproached with his impeachment and his imprisonment. Once, it was said, he had escaped : but vengeance might still overtake him ; and London might enjoy the long deferred pleasure of seeing the old traitor flung off the ladder in the blue ribbon which he disgraced. All the members of his family, wife, son, daughters, were assailed with savage invective and contemptuous sarcasm.<sup>3</sup> All who were supposed

In another are these lines :

“ When Charles did seem to fill the throne,  
This tyrant Tom made England groan.”

A third says :

“ Yorkshire Tom was rais'd to honor,  
For what cause no creature knew ;  
He was false to the royal donor,  
And will be the same to you.”

<sup>1</sup> A Whig poet compares the two Marquesses, as they were often called, and gives George the preference over Thomas :

“ If a Marquess needs must steer us,  
Take a better in his stead,  
Who will in your absence cheer us,  
And has far a wiser head.”

<sup>2</sup> “ A thin, ill-uated ghost that haunts the King.”

<sup>3</sup> “ Let him with his blue ribbon be  
Tied close up to the gallows tree ;  
For my lady a cart ; and I 'd contrive it,  
Her dancing son and heir should drive it.”

to be closely connected with him by political ties came in for a portion of this abuse ; and none had so large a portion as Lowther. The feeling indicated by these satires was strong among the Whigs in Parliament. Several of them deliberated on a plan of attack, and were in hopes that they should be able to raise such a storm as would make it impossible for Caermarthen to remain at the head of affairs. It should seem that, at this time, his influence in the royal closet was not quite what it had been. Godolphin, whom he did not love, and could not control, but whose financial skill had been greatly missed during the summer, was brought back to the treasury, and made First Commissioner. Lowther, who was the Lord President's own man, still sat at the board, but no longer presided there. It is true that there was not then such a difference as there now is between the First Lord and his colleagues. Still the change was important and significant. Marlborough, whom Caermarthen disliked, was, in military affairs, not less trusted than Godolphin in financial affairs. The seals which Shrewsbury had resigned in the summer had ever since been lying in William's secret drawer. The Lord President probably expected that he should be consulted before they were given away ; but he was disappointed. Sidney was sent for from Ireland ; and the seals were delivered to him. The first intimation which the Lord President received of this important appointment was not made in a manner likely to soothe his feelings. " Did you meet the new Secretary of State going out ? " said William. " No, sir," answered the Lord President ; " I met nobody but my Lord Sidney." " He is the new Secretary," said William. " He will do till I find a fit

man ; and he will be quite willing to resign as soon as I find a fit man. Any other person that I could put in would think himself ill used if I were to put him out." If William had said all that was in his mind, he would probably have added that Sidney, though not a great orator or statesman, was one of the very few English politicians who could be as entirely trusted as Bentinck or Zulestein. Caermarthen listened with a bitter smile. It was new, he afterward said, to see a nobleman placed in the Secretary's office, as a footman was placed in a box at the theatre, merely in order to keep a seat till his betters came.<sup>1</sup> But this jest was a cover for serious mortification and alarm. The situation of the prime minister was unpleasant and even perilous ; and the duration of his power would probably have been short, had not fortune, just at this moment, enabled him to confound his adversaries by rendering a great service to the State.<sup>2</sup>

The Jacobites had seemed in August to be completely crushed. The victory of the Boyne, and the irresistible explosion of patriotic feeling produced by the appearance of Tourville's fleet on the coast of Devonshire, had cowed the boldest champions of hereditary right. Most of the chief plotters had passed some weeks in confinement or in concealment. But, widely as the ramifications of the conspiracy had extended, only one traitor had suffered

A Jacobite  
plot.

<sup>1</sup> See Lord Dartmouth's Note on Burnet, ii., 5.

<sup>2</sup> As to the designs of the Whigs against Caermarthen, see Burnet, ii., 68, 69, and a very significant protest in the *Lords' Journals*, October 30, 1690. As to the relations between Caermarthen and Godolphin, see Godolphin's letter to William, dated March 20, 1691, in Dalrymple.



the punishment of his crime. This was a man named Godfrey Cross, who kept an inn on the beach near Rye, and who, when the French Fleet was on the coast of Sussex, had given information to Tourville. When it appeared that this solitary example was thought sufficient, when the danger of invasion was over, when the popular enthusiasm excited by that danger had subsided, when the lenity of the government had permitted some conspirators to leave their prisons and had encouraged others to venture out of their hiding-places, the faction which had been prostrated and stunned began to give signs of returning animation. The old traitors again mustered at the old haunts, exchanged significant looks, and eager whispers, and drew from their pockets libels on the Court of Kensington, and letters in milk and lemon-juice from the Court of Saint Germain. Preston, Dartmouth, Clarendon, Penn, were among the most busy. With them was leagued the nonjuring Bishop of Ely, who was still permitted by the government to reside in the palace, now no longer his own, and who had, but a short time before, called Heaven to witness that he detested the thought of inviting foreigners to invade England. One good opportunity had been lost : but another was at hand, and must not be suffered to escape. The usurper would soon be again out of England. The administration would soon be again confided to a weak woman and a divided council. The year which was closing had certainly been unlucky; but that which was about to commence might be more auspicious.

In December a meeting of the leading Jacobites was held.<sup>1</sup> The sense of the assembly, which consisted

<sup>1</sup> My account of this conspiracy is chiefly taken from the evi-

exclusively of Protestants, was that something ought to be attempted, but that the difficulties were great.

Meeting of  
the leading  
conspirators. None ventured to recommend that James should come over unaccompanied by regular troops. Yet all, taught by the experience of the preceding summer, dreaded the effect which might be produced by the sight of French uniforms and standards on English ground. A paper was drawn up which would, it was hoped, convince both James and Lewis that a restoration could not be effected without the cordial concurrence of the nation. France—such was the substance of this remarkable document—might possibly make the island a heap of ruins, but never a subject province. It was hardly possible for any person, who had not had an opportunity of observing the temper of the public mind, to imagine the savage and dogged determination with which men of all classes, sects, and factions were prepared to resist any foreign potentate who should attempt to conquer the kingdom by force of arms. Nor could England be governed as a Roman Catholic country. There were five millions of Protestants in the realm : there were not a hundred thousand Papists : that such a minority should keep down such a majority was physically impossible ; and to physical impossibility all other considerations must give way. James would therefore do well to take without delay such measures as might indi-

dence, oral and documentary, which was produced on the trial of the conspirators. See also Burnet, ii., 69, 70, the Appendix to Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Part II., Book VI., and the *Life of James*, ii., 441. Narcissus Luttrell remarks that no Roman Catholic appeared to have been admitted to the consultations of the conspirators.

cate his resolution to protect the established religion. Unhappily every letter which arrived from France contained something tending to irritate feelings which it was most desirable to soothe. Stories were everywhere current of slights offered at Saint Germain's to Protestants who had given the highest proof of loyalty by following into banishment a master zealous for a faith which was not their own. The edicts which had been issued against the Huguenots might perhaps have been justified by the anarchical opinions and practices of those sectaries : but it was the height of injustice and of inhospitality to put those edicts in force against men who had been driven from their country solely on account of their attachment to a Roman Catholic King. Surely, sons of the Anglican Church, who had, in obedience to their teaching, sacrificed all that they most prized on earth to the royal cause, ought not to be any longer interdicted from assembling in some modest edifice to celebrate her rites and to receive her consolations. An announcement that Lewis had, at the request of James, permitted the English exiles to worship God according to their national forms would be the best prelude to the great attempt. That attempt ought to be made early in the spring. A French force must undoubtedly accompany His Majesty. But he must declare that he brought that force only for the defence of his person and for the protection of his loving subjects, and that, as soon as the foreign oppressors had been expelled, the foreign deliverers should be dismissed. He must also promise to govern according to law, and must refer all the points which had been in dispute between him and his people to the decision of a Parliament.

It was determined that Preston should carry to Saint Germain the resolutions and suggestions of the conspirators. John Ashton, a person who had been clerk of the closet to Mary of Modena when she was on the throne, and who was entirely devoted to the interests of the exiled family, undertook to procure the means of conveyance, and for this purpose engaged the co-operation of a hot-headed young Jacobite named Elliot, who only knew in general that a service of some hazard was to be rendered to the good cause.

It was easy to find in the port of London a vessel the owner of which was not scrupulous about the use for which it might be wanted. Ashton and Elliot were introduced to the master of a smack named the James and Elizabeth. The Jacobite agents pretended to be smugglers, and talked of the thousands of pounds which might be got by a single lucky trip to France and back again. A bargain was struck : a sixpence was broken ; and all the arrangements were made for the voyage.

Preston was charged by his friends with a packet containing several important papers. Among these was a list of the English fleet furnished by Dartmouth, who was in communication with some of his old companions in arms, a minute of the resolutions which had been adopted at the meeting of the conspirators, and the heads of a Declaration which it was thought desirable that James should publish at the moment of his landing. There were also six or seven letters from persons of note in the Jacobite party. Most of these letters were parables, but parables which it was not difficult to unriddle. One plotter

The conspirators determine to send Preston to Saint Germain.

Papers intrusted to Preston.

used the cant of the law. There was hope that Mr. Jackson would soon recover his estate. The new landlord was a hard man, and had set the freeholders against him. A little matter would redeem the whole property. The opinions of the best counsel were in Mr. Jackson's favor. All that was necessary was that he should himself appear in Westminster Hall. The final hearing ought to be before the close of Easter Term. Other writers affected the style of the Royal Exchange. There was great demand for a cargo of the right sort. There was reason to hope that the old firm would soon form profitable connections with houses with which it had hitherto had no dealings. This was evidently an allusion to the discontented Whigs. But, it was added, the shipments must not be delayed. Nothing was so dangerous as to overstay the market. If the expected goods did not arrive by the tenth of March, the whole profit of the year would be lost. As to details, entire reliance might be placed on the excellent factor who was going over. Clarendon assumed the character of a match-maker. There was great hope that the business which he had been negotiating would be brought to bear, and that the marriage-portion would be well secured. "Your relations," he wrote, in allusion to his recent confinement, "have been very hard on me this last summer. Yet, as soon as I could go safely abroad, I pursued the business." Catharine Sedley intrusted Preston with a letter in which, without allegory or circumlocution, she complained that her lover had left her a daughter to support, and begged very hard for money. But the two most important despatches were from Bishop Turner. They were directed to Mr. and Mrs. Redding: but the



language was such as it would be thought abject in any gentleman to hold except to royalty. The Bishop assured Their Majesties that he was devoted to their cause, that he earnestly wished for a great occasion to prove his zeal, and that he would no more swerve from his duty to them than renounce his hope of heaven. He added, in phraseology metaphorical, indeed, but perfectly intelligible, that he was the mouthpiece of several of the nonjuring prelates, and especially of Sancroft. "Sir, I speak in the plural"—these are the words of the letter to James—"because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of our family." The letter to Mary of Modena is to the same effect. "I say this in behalf of my elder brother, and the rest of my nearest relations, as well as from myself."<sup>1</sup>

All the letters with which Preston was charged referred the Court of Saint Germain's to him for fuller information. He carried with him minutes in his own handwriting of the subjects on which he was to converse with his master and with the ministers of Lewis. These minutes, though concise and desultory, can for the most part be interpreted without difficulty. The vulnerable points of the coast are mentioned. Gosport is defended only by palisades. The garrison of Portsmouth is small. The French fleet ought to be out in April, and to fight before the Dutch are in the Channel. There is a memorandum which proves that Pres-

<sup>1</sup> The genuineness of these letters was once contested on very frivolous grounds. But the letter of Turner to Sancroft, which is among the Tanner papers in the Bodleian Library, and which will be found in the *Life of Ken by a Layman*, must convince the most incredulous.

ton had been charged—by whom it is easy to guess—with a commission relating to Pennsylvania ; and there are a few broken words clearly importing that some at least of the nonjuring bishops, when they declared, before God, that they abhorred the thought of inviting the French over, were dissembling.<sup>1</sup>

Everything was now ready for Preston's departure. But the owner of the James and Elizabeth had conceived a suspicion that the expedition for which his smack had been hired was rather of a political than of a commercial nature.

It occurred to him that more might be made by informing against his passengers than by carrying them safely. Intelligence of what was passing was conveyed to the Lord President. No intelligence could be more welcome to him. He was delighted to find that it was in his power to give a signal proof of his attachment to the government which his enemies had accused him of betraying. He took his measures with his usual energy and dexterity. His eldest son, the Earl of Danby, a bold, volatile, and somewhat eccentric young man, was fond of the sea, lived much among

<sup>1</sup> The memorandum relating to Pennsylvania, ought to be quoted together with the two sentences which precede it. "A commission given to me from Mr. P— Fr. Fl. hinder Eng. and D. from joining—two vessels of 150*l.* price for Pensilvania for 13 or 14 months." I have little doubt that the first and third of these sentences are parts of one memorandum, and that the words which evidently relate to the fleets were jotted down at a different time in the place left vacant between two lines. The words relating to the Bishops are these: "The Modest Inquiry—The Bishops' Answer—Not the chilling of them—But the satisfying of friends." *The Modest Inquiry* was the pamphlet which hinted at Dewitting.

Information  
of the plot  
given to Caer-  
marthen.

sailors, and was the proprietor of a small yacht of marvellous speed. This vessel, well manned, was placed under the command of a trusty officer named Billop, and was sent down the river, as if for the purpose of pressing mariners.

At dead of night, the last night of the year 1690, Preston, Ashton, and Elliot went on board of their smack near the Tower. They were in great dread lest they should be stopped and searched, either by a frigate which lay off Woolwich, or by the guard posted at the block-house of Gravesend. But when they had passed both frigate and block-house without being challenged, their spirits rose : their appetites became keen : they unpacked a hamper well stored with roast-beef, mince-pies, and bottles of wine, and were just sitting down to their Christmas cheer, when the alarm was given that a swift vessel from Tilbury was flying through the water after them. They had scarcely time to hide themselves in a dark hole among the gravel which was the ballast of their smack, when the chase was over, and Billop, at the head of an armed party, came on board. The hatches were taken up : the conspirators were arrested ; and their clothes were strictly examined. Preston, in his agitation, had dropped on the gravel his official seal and the packet of which he was the bearer. The seal was discovered where it had fallen. Ashton, aware of the importance of the papers, snatched them up and tried to conceal them : but they were soon found in his bosom.

The prisoners then tried to cajole or to corrupt Billop. They called for wine, pledged him, praised his gentleman-like demeanor, and assured him that if he would

Arrest of  
Preston and  
his com-  
panions.

accompany them, nay, if he would only let that little roll of paper fall overboard into the Thames, his fortune would be made. The tide of affairs, they said, was on the turn : things could not go on forever as they had gone on of late ; and it was in the captain's power to be as great and as rich as he could desire. Billop, though courteous, was inflexible. The conspirators became sensible that their necks were in imminent danger. The emergency brought out strongly the true characters of all the three, characters which, but for such an emergency, might have remained forever unknown. Preston had always been reputed a high-spirited and gallant gentleman : but the near prospect of a dungeon and a gallows altogether unmanned him. Elliot stormed and blasphemed, vowed that, if he ever got free, he would be revenged, and, with horrible imprecations, called on the thunder to strike the yacht, and on London Bridge to fall in and crush her. Ashton alone behaved with manly firmness.

Late in the evening the yacht reached Whitehall Stairs ; and the prisoners, strongly guarded, were conducted to the Secretary's office. The papers which had been found in Ashton's bosom were inspected that night by Nottingham and Caermarthen, and were, on the following morning, put by Caermarthen into the hands of the King.

Soon it was known all over London that a plot had been detected, that the messengers whom the adherents of James had sent to solicit the help of an invading army from France had been arrested by the agents of the vigilant and energetic Lord President, and that documentary evidence, which might affect the lives of some great men, was in the possession of the govern-

ment. The Jacobites were terror-stricken : the clamor of the Whigs against Caermarthen was suddenly hushed ; and the Session ended in perfect harmony. On the fifth of January the King thanked the Houses for their support, and assured them that he would not grant away any forfeited property in Ireland till they should reassemble. He alluded to the plot which had just been discovered, and expressed a hope that the friends of England would not, at such a moment, be less active or less firmly united than her enemies. He then signified his pleasure that the Parliament should adjourn. On the following day he set out, attended by a splendid train of nobles, for the Congress at the Hague.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' and Commons' Journals*, Jan. 5, 1690<sup>o</sup> ; *London Gazette*, Jan. 8.







## CHAPTER XVII

### WILLIAM AND MARY (*Continued*)

ON the eighteenth of January, 1691, the King, having been detained some days by adverse winds, went on board at Gravesend. Four yachts had been fitted up for him and for his retinue. Among his attendants were Norfolk, Ormond, Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, Monmouth, Zulestein, and the Bishop of London. Two distinguished admirals, Cloudesley Shovel and George Rooke, commanded the men-of-war which formed the convoy. The passage was tedious and disagreeable. During many hours the fleet was becalmed off the Goodwin Sands ; and it was not till the fifth day that the soundings proved the coast of Holland to be near. The sea-fog was so thick that no land could be seen ; and it was not thought safe for the ships to proceed further in the darkness. William, tired out by the voyage, and impatient to be once more in his beloved country, determined to land in an open boat. The noblemen who were in his train tried to dissuade him from risking so valuable a life : but when they found that his mind was made up they insisted on

1691.  
William's  
voyage to  
Holland.

sharing the danger. That danger proved more serious than they had expected. It had been supposed that in an hour the party would be on shore. But great masses of floating ice impeded the progress of the skiff : the night came on : the fog grew thicker : the waves broke over the King and the courtiers. Once the keel struck on a sand-bank, and was with great difficulty got off. The hardest mariners showed some signs of uneasiness. But William, through the whole night, was as composed as if he had been in the drawing-room at Kensington. "For shame," he said to one of the dismayed sailors : "are you afraid to die in my company ?" A bold Dutch seaman ventured to spring out, and with great difficulty swam and scrambled through breakers, ice, and mud, to firm ground. Here he discharged a musket and lighted a fire as a signal that he was safe. None of his fellow-passengers, however, thought it prudent to follow his example. They lay tossing in sight of the flame which he had kindled, till the first pale light of a January morning showed them that they were close to the island of Goree. The King and his Lords, stiff with cold and covered with icicles, gladly landed to warm and rest themselves.<sup>1</sup>

After reposing some hours in the hut of a peasant, William proceeded to the Hague. He was impatiently expected there ; for, though the fleet which brought him was not visible from the shore, the royal salutes had been heard through the mist, and had apprised the whole coast of his arrival. Thousands had assembled at Honslaerdyk to welcome him with applause which

<sup>1</sup> *Relation de la Voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande, enrichie de planches très curieuses*, 1692 ; Wagenaar ; *London Gazette*, Jan. 29, 1691<sup>o</sup> ; Burnet, ii., 71.





came from their hearts and which went to his heart. That was one of the few white days of a life, beneficent indeed and glorious, but far from happy. After more than two years passed in a strange land, the exile had again set foot on his native soil. He heard again the language of his nursery. He saw again the scenery and the architecture which were inseparably associated in his mind with the recollections of childhood and the sacred feeling of home ; the dreary mounds of sand, shells, and weeds, on which the waves of the German Ocean broke ; the interminable meadows intersected by trenches ; the straight canals ; the villas bright with paint, and adorned with quaint images and inscriptions. He had lived during many weary months among a people who did not love him, who did not understand him, who could never forget that he was a foreigner. Those Englishmen who served him most faithfully served him without enthusiasm, without personal attachment, and merely from a sense of public duty. In their hearts they were sorry that they had no choice but between an English tyrant and a Dutch deliverer. All was now changed. William was among a population by which he was adored, as Elizabeth had been adored when she rode through her army at Tilbury, as Charles the Second had been adored when he landed at Dover. It is true that the old enemies of the House of Orange had not been inactive during the absence of the Stadtholder. There had been, not indeed clamors, but mutterings against him. He had, it was said, neglected his native land for his new kingdom. Whenever the dignity of the English flag, whenever the prosperity of the English trade was concerned, he forgot that he was a Hollander. But, as soon as



his well-remembered face was again seen, all jealousy, all coldness, was at an end. There was not a boor, not a fisherman, not an artisan, in the crowds which lined the road from Honslaerdyk to the Hague, whose heart did not swell with pride at the thought that the first minister of Holland had become a great King, had freed the English, and had conquered the Irish. It would have been madness in William to travel from Hampton Court to Westminster without a guard ; but in his own land he needed no swords or carbines to defend him. “ Do not keep the people off,” he cried : “ let them come close to me ; they are all my good friends.” He soon learned that sumptuous preparations were making for his entrance into the Hague. At first he murmured and objected. He detested, he said, noise and display. The necessary cost of the war was quite heavy enough. He hoped that his kind fellow-townsmen would consider him as a neighbor, born and bred among them, and would not pay him so bad a compliment as to treat him ceremoniously. But all his expostulations were vain. The Hollanders, simple and parsimonious as their ordinary habits were, had set their hearts on giving their illustrious countryman a reception suited to his dignity and to his merit ; and he found it necessary to yield. On the day of his triumph the concourse was immense. All the wheeled carriages and horses of the province were too few for the multitudes that flocked to the show. Many thousands came sliding or skating along the frozen canals from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, Delft. At ten in the morning of the twenty-sixth of January, the great bell of the Town-house gave the signal. Sixteen hundred

William's entrance into the Hague.

substantial burghers, well armed, and clad in the finest dresses which were to be found in the recesses of their wardrobes, kept order in the crowded streets. Balconies and scaffolds, embowered in evergreens and hung with tapestry, hid the windows. The royal coach, escorted by an army of Halberdiers and running footmen, and followed by a long train of splendid equipages, passed under numerous arches rich with carving and painting, amidst incessant shouts of "Long live the King our Stadtholder!" The front of the Town-house and the whole circuit of the market-place were in a blaze with brilliant colors. Civic crowns, trophies, emblems of art, of sciences, of commerce, and of agriculture, appeared everywhere. In one place William saw portrayed the glorious actions of his ancestors. There was the silent prince, the founder of the Batavian commonwealth, passing the Meuse with his warriors. There was the more impetuous Maurice leading the charge at Nieuport. A little further on, the hero might retrace the eventful story of his own life. He was a child at his widowed mother's knee. He was at the altar with Mary's hand in his. He was landing at Torbay. He was swimming through the Boyne. There, too, was a boat amidst the ice and the breakers; and above it was most appropriately inscribed, in the majestic language of Rome, the saying of the great Roman, "What dost thou fear? Thou hast Cæsar on board." The task of furnishing the Latin mottos had been intrusted to two men, who, till Bentley appeared, held the highest place among classical scholars of that age. Spanheim, whose knowledge of the Roman medals was unrivalled, imitated, not unsuccessfully, the noble conciseness of those ancient legends which

he had assiduously studied ; and he was assisted by Grævius, who then filled a chair at Utrecht, and whose just reputation had drawn to that University multitudes of students from every part of Protestant Europe.<sup>1</sup> When the night came, fireworks were exhibited on the great tank which washes the walls of the palace of the Federation. That tank was now as hard as marble ; and the Dutch boasted that nothing had ever been seen, even on the terrace of Versailles, more brilliant than the effect produced by the innumerable cascades of flame which were reflected in the smooth mirror of ice.<sup>2</sup> The English Lords congratulated their master on his immense popularity. “ Yes,” said he : “ but I am not the favorite. The shouting was nothing to what it would have been if Mary had been with me.”

A few hours after the triumphal entry, the King attended a sitting of the States-general. His last appearance among them had been on the day on which he embarked for England. He had then, amidst the broken words and loud weeping of those grave Senators, thanked them for the kindness with which they had watched over his childhood, trained his mind in

<sup>1</sup> The names of these two great scholars are associated in a very interesting letter of Bentley to Grævius, dated April 29, 1698. “ Sciunt omnes qui me norunt, et si vitam mihi Deus O. M. prorogaverit, scient etiam posterī, ut te et τὸν πᾶνν Spanhemium, geminos hujus ævi Dioscuros, lucida literarum sidera, semper prædicaverim, semper veneratus sim.”

<sup>2</sup> *Relation de la Voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande*, 1692 ; *London Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1691<sup>o</sup> ; *Le Triomphe Royal où l'on voit décrits les Arcs de Triomphe, Pyramides, Tableaux et Devises au Nombre de 65, erigez à la Haye à l'honneur de Guiltiaume Trois*, 1692 ; *Le Carnaval de la Haye*, 1691. This last work is a savage pasquinade on William.

youth, and supported his authority in his riper years ; and he had solemnly commended his beloved wife to their care. He now came back among them the King of three kingdoms, the head of the greatest coalition that Europe has seen since the League of Cambray ; and nothing was heard in the hall but applause and congratulations.<sup>1</sup>

By this time the streets of the Hague were overflowing with the equipages and retinues of princes and ambassadors who came flocking to the great Congress. First appeared the ambitious and ostentatious Frederic, Elector of Brandenburg, who, a few years later, took the title of King of Prussia. Then arrived the young Elector of Bavaria, the Regent of Würtemberg, the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and a long train of sovereign princes, sprung from the illustrious houses of Brunswick, of Saxony, of Holstein, and of Nassau. The Marquess of Gastanaga, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, repaired to the assembly from the vice-regal Court of Brussels. Extraordinary ministers had been sent by the Emperor, by the Kings of Spain, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, and by the Duke of Savoy. There was scarcely room in the town and the neighborhood for the English Lords and gentlemen and the German Counts and Barons whom curiosity or official duty had brought to the place of meeting. The grave capital of the most thrifty and industrious of

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1690 ; *His Majesty's Speech to the Assembly of the States-general of the United Provinces at the Hague, the 7th of February, N. S., together with the Answer of their High and Mighty Lordships, as both are extracted out of the Register of the Resolutions of the States-general, 1691.*

nations was as gay as Venice in the Carnival. The walks cut among those noble limes and elms in which the villa of the Princes of Orange is embosomed were gay with the plumes, the stars, the flowing wigs, the embroidered coats, and the gold-hilted swords of gallants from London, Berlin, and Vienna. With the nobles were mingled sharpers not less gorgeously attired than they. At night the hazard-tables were thronged; and the theatre was filled to the roof. Princely banquets followed one another in rapid succession. The meats were served in gold; and, according to that old Teutonic fashion with which Shakspeare had made his countrymen familiar, as often as any of the great princes proposed a health, the kettle-drums and trumpets sounded. Some English Lords, particularly Devonshire, gave entertainments which vied with those of Sovereigns. It was remarked that the German potentates, though generally disposed to be litigious and punctilious about etiquette, associated, on this occasion, in an unceremonious manner, and seemed to have forgotten their passion for heraldic controversy. The taste for wine, which was then characteristic of their nation they had not forgotten. At the table of the Elector of Brandenburg much mirth was caused by the gravity of the statesmen of Holland, who, sober themselves, confuted out of Grotius and Puffendorf the nonsense stuttered by the tipsy nobles of the Empire. One of those nobles swallowed so many bumpers that he tumbled into the turf fire, and was not pulled out till his fine velvet suit had been burned.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Relation de la Voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande*; Burnet, ii., 72; *London Gazette*, Feb. 12, 19, 23, 1690; *Mémoires du Comte de Dohna*; William Fuller's *Memoirs*.



In the midst of all this revelry, business was not neglected. A formal meeting of the Congress was held, at which William presided. In a short and dignified speech, which was speedily circulated throughout Europe, he set forth the necessity of firm union and strenuous exertion. The profound respect with which he was heard by that splendid assembly caused bitter mortification to his enemies both in England and in France. The German potentates were bitterly reviled for yielding precedence to an upstart. Indeed, the most illustrious among them paid to him such marks of deference as they would scarcely have deigned to pay to the Imperial Majesty, mingled with the crowd in his antechamber, and at his table behaved as respectfully as any English lord in waiting. In one caricature the allied princes were represented as muzzled bears, some with crowns, some with caps of state. William had them all in a chain, and was teaching them to dance. In another caricature, he appeared taking his ease, in an arm-chair, with his feet on a cushion, and his hat on his head, while the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, uncovered, occupied small stools on the right and left : the crowd of Landgraves and Sovereign dukes stood at humble distance ; and Gastanaga, the unworthy successor of Alva, awaited the orders of the heretic tyrant on bended knee.<sup>1</sup>

It was soon announced by authority that, before the beginning of summer, two hundred and twenty thou-

<sup>1</sup> Wagenaar, lxii. ; *Le Carnaval de la Haye*, Mars, 1691 ; *Le Tabouret des Electeurs*, April, 1691 ; *Cérémonial de ce qui s'est passé à la Haye entre le Roi Guillaume et les Electeurs de Bavière et de Brandebourg*. This last tract is a MS. presented to the British Museum by George IV.

sand men would be in the field against France.<sup>1</sup> The contingent which each of the allied powers was to furnish was made known. Matters about which it would have been inexpedient to put forth any declaration were privately discussed by the King of England with his allies. On this occasion, as on every other important occasion during his reign, he was his own minister for foreign affairs. It was necessary, for the sake of form, that he should be attended by a Secretary of State ; and Nottingham had therefore followed him to Holland. But Nottingham, though, in matters relating to the internal government of England, he enjoyed a large share of his master's confidence, knew little more about the business of the Congress than what he saw in the Gazettes.

This mode of transacting business would now be thought most unconstitutional ; and many writers, applying the standard of their own age to the transactions of a former age, have severely blamed William for acting without the advice of his ministers, and his ministers for submitting to be kept in ignorance of transactions which deeply concerned the honor of the crown and the welfare of the nation. Yet surely the presumption is that what the most honest and honorable men of both parties—Nottingham, for example, among the Tories, and Somers among the Whigs—not only did, but avowed, cannot have been altogether inexcusable ; and a very sufficient excuse will without difficulty be found.

The doctrine that the Sovereign is not responsible is doubtless as old as any part of our constitution. The doctrine that his ministers are responsible is also of

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, Feb. 23, 169<sup>0</sup>.

immemorial antiquity. The doctrine that, where there is no responsibility, there can be no trustworthy security against maladministration, is one which, in our age and country, few people will be inclined to dispute. From these three propositions it plainly follows that the administration is likely to be best conducted when the Sovereign performs no public act without the concurrence and instrumentality of a minister. This argument is perfectly sound. But we must remember that arguments are constructed in one way, and governments in another. In logic, none but an idiot admits the premises and denies the legitimate conclusion. But, in practice, we see that great and enlightened communities often persist, generation after generation, in asserting principles, and refusing to act upon those principles. It may be doubted whether any real polity that ever existed has exactly corresponded to the pure idea of that polity. According to the pure idea of constitutional royalty, the prince reigns, and does not govern ; and constitutional royalty, as it now exists in England, comes nearer than in any other country to the pure idea. Yet it would be a great error to imagine, even now, that our princes merely reign and never govern. In the seventeenth century, both Whigs and Tories thought it not only the right, but the duty, of the first magistrate to govern. All parties agreed in blaming Charles the Second for not being his own Prime Minister : all parties agreed in praising James for being his own Lord High Admiral ; and all parties thought it natural and reasonable that William should be his own Foreign Secretary.

It may be observed that the ablest and best informed of those who have censured the manner in which the

negotiations of that time were conducted are scarcely consistent with themselves. For, while they blame William for being his own Ambassador Plenipotentiary at the Hague, they praise him for being his own Commander-in-chief in Ireland. Yet, where is the distinction in principle between the two cases? Surely every reason which can be brought to prove that he violated the constitution when, by his own sole authority, he made compacts with the Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg, will equally prove that he violated the constitution when, by his own sole authority, he ordered one column to plunge into the water at Old-bridge and another to cross the bridge of Slane. If the constitution gave him the command of the forces of the State, the constitution gave him also the direction of the foreign relations of the State. On what principle, then, can it be maintained that he was at liberty to exercise the former power without consulting anybody, but that he was bound to exercise the latter power in conformity with the advice of a minister? Will it be said that an error in diplomacy is likely to be more injurious to the country than an error in strategy? Surely not. It is hardly conceivable that any blunder which William might have made at the Hague could have been more injurious to the public interests than a defeat at the Boyne. Or will it be said that there was greater reason for placing confidence in his military than in his diplomatic skill? Surely not. In war he showed some great moral and intellectual qualities: but, as a tactician, he did not rank high; and of his many campaigns only two were decidedly successful. In the talents of a negotiator, on the other hand, he has never been surpassed. Of the interests and the

tempers of the continental courts he knew more than all his Privy Council together. Some of his ministers were doubtless men of great ability, excellent orators in the House of Lords, and versed in our insular politics. But, in the deliberations of the Congress, Caermarthen and Nottingham would have been found as far inferior to him as he would have been found inferior to them in a parliamentary debate on a question purely English. The coalition against France was his work. He alone had joined together the parts of that great whole ; and he alone could keep them together. If he had trusted that vast and complicated machine in the hands of any of his subjects, it would instantly have fallen to pieces.

Some things, indeed, were to be done which none of his subjects would have ventured to do. Pope Alexander was really, though not in name, one of the allies : it was of the highest importance to have him for a friend : and yet such was the temper of the English nation that an English minister might well shrink from having any dealings, direct or indirect, with the Vatican. The Secretaries of State were glad to leave in the hands of their master a matter so delicate and so full of risk, and to be able to protest with truth that not a line to which the most intolerant Protestant could object had ever gone out of their offices.

It must not be supposed, however, that William ever forgot that his especial, his hereditary, mission was to protect the Reformed faith. His influence with Roman Catholic princes was constantly and strenuously exerted for the benefit of their Protestant subjects. In the spring of 1691, the Waldensian shepherds, long and cruelly

William obtains a toleration for the Waldenses.



persecuted, and weary of their lives, were surprised by glad tidings. Those who had been in prison for heresy returned to their homes. Children, who had been taken from their parents to be educated by priests, were sent back. Congregations, which had hitherto met only by stealth and with extreme peril, now worshipped God without molestation in the face of day. Those simple mountaineers probably never knew that their fate had been a subject of discussion at the Hague, and that they owed the happiness of their firesides and the security of their humble temples to the ascendancy which William exercised over the Duke of Savoy.<sup>1</sup>

No coalition of which history has preserved the memory has had an abler chief than William. But even William often contended in vain against those vices which are inherent in the nature of all coalitions. No undertaking which requires the hearty and long continued co-operation of many independent states is likely to prosper. Jealousies inevitably spring up. Disputes engender disputes. Every confederate is tempted to throw on others some part of the burden which he ought himself to bear. Scarcely one honestly furnishes the promised contingent. Scarcely one exactly observes the appointed day. But perhaps no coalition that ever existed was in such constant danger of dissolution as the coalition which William had with infinite difficulty formed. The long list of potentates, who met in person or by their representatives at the

<sup>1</sup> The secret article by which the Duke of Savoy bound himself to grant toleration to the Waldenses is in Dumont's collection. It was signed Feb. 8, 1691.

Hague, looked well in the Gazettes. The crowd of princely equipages, attended by many-colored guards and lackeys, looked well among the lime-trees of the Voorhout. But the very circumstances which made the Congress more splendid than other congresses made the league weaker than other leagues. The more numerous the allies, the more numerous were the dangers which threatened the alliance. It was impossible that twenty governments, divided by quarrels about precedence, quarrels about territory, quarrels about trade, quarrels about religion, could long act together in perfect harmony. That they acted together during several years in imperfect harmony is to be ascribed to the wisdom, patience, and firmness of William.

The situation of his great enemy was very different. The resources of the French monarchy, though certainly not equal to those of England, Holland, the House of Austria, and the Empire of Germany united, were yet very formidable : they were all collected in a central position ; and they were all under the absolute direction of a single mind. Lewis could do with two words what William could hardly bring about by two months of negotiation at Berlin, Munich, Brussels, Turin, and Vienna. Thus France was found equal in effective strength to all the states which were combined against her. For in the political, as in the natural world, there may be an equality of momentum between unequal bodies, when the body which is inferior in weight is superior in velocity.

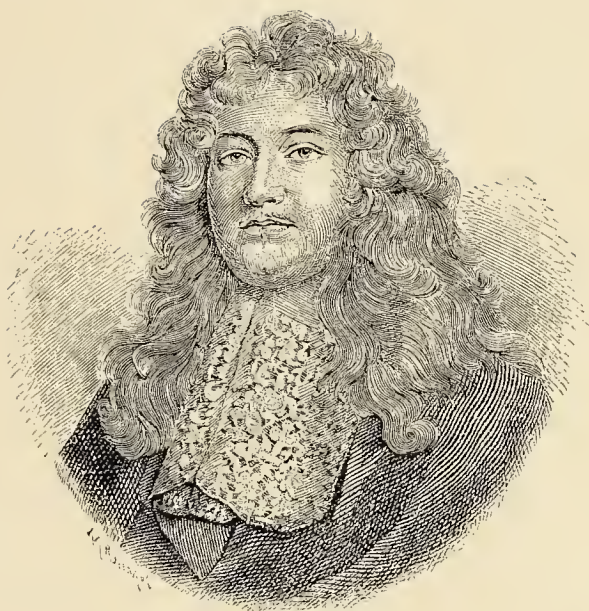
This was soon signally proved. In March the princes and ambassadors who had been assembled at the Hague separated : and scarcely had they separated when all

their plans were disconcerted by a bold and skilful move of the enemy.

Lewis was sensible that the meeting of the Congress was likely to produce a great effect on the public mind

Siege and fall  
of Mons. of Europe. That effect he determined to counteract by striking a sudden and terrible

blow. While his enemies were settling how many troops each of them should furnish, he ordered numerous divisions of his army to march from widely distant points toward Mons, one of the most important, if not the most important, of the fortresses which protected the Spanish Netherlands. His purpose was discovered only when it was all but accomplished. William, who had retired for a few days to Loo, learned, with surprise and extreme vexation, that cavalry, infantry, artillery, bridges of boats, were fast approaching the fated city by many converging routes. A hundred thousand men had been brought together. All the implements of war had been largely provided by Louvois, the first of living administrators. The command was intrusted to Luxemburg, the first of living generals. The scientific operations were directed by Vauban, the first of living engineers. That nothing might be wanting which could kindle emulation through all the ranks of a gallant and loyal army, the magnificent King himself had set out from Versailles for the camp. Yet William had still some faint hope that it might be possible to raise the siege. He flew to the Hague, put all the forces of the States-general in motion, and sent pressing messages to the German Princes. Within three weeks after he had received the first hint of the danger, he was in the neighborhood of the besieged city, at the head of near fifty thousand troops







of different nations. To attack a superior force commanded by such a captain as Luxemburg was a bold, almost a desperate, enterprise. Yet William was so sensible that the loss of Mons would be an almost irreparable disaster and disgrace that he made up his mind to run the hazard. He was convinced that the event of the siege would determine the policy of the Courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen. Those Courts had lately seemed inclined to join the coalition. If Mons fell, they would certainly remain neutral; and they might possibly become hostile. "The risk," he wrote to Heinsius, "is great: yet I am not without hope. I will do what can be done. The issue is in the hands of God." On the very day on which this letter was written Mons fell. The siege had been vigorously pressed. Lewis himself, though suffering from the gout, had set the example of strenuous exertion. His household troops, the finest body of soldiers in Europe, had, under his eye, surpassed themselves. The young nobles of his court had tried to attract his notice by exposing themselves to the hottest fire with the same gay alacrity with which they were wont to exhibit their graceful figures at his balls. His wounded soldiers were charmed by the benignant courtesy with which he walked among their pallets, assisted while wounds were dressed by the hospital surgeons, and breakfasted on a porringer of the hospital broth. While all was obedience and enthusiasm among the besiegers, all was disunion and dismay among the besieged. The duty of the French lines was so well performed that no messenger sent by William was able to cross them. The garrison did not know that relief was close at hand. The burghers were appalled by the

prospect of those horrible calamities which befall cities taken by storm. Showers of shells and red-hot bullets were falling in the streets. The town was on fire in ten places at once. The peaceful inhabitants derived an unwonted courage from the excess of their fear, and rose on the soldiers. Thenceforth resistance was impossible ; and a capitulation was concluded. The armies then retired into quarters. Military operations were suspended during some weeks : Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles ; and William paid a short visit to England, where his presence was much needed.<sup>1</sup>

He found the ministers still employed in tracing out the ramifications of the plot which had been discovered just before his departure. Early in January, William re- turns to Eng- land.

Preston, Ashton, and Elliot had been arraigned at the Old Bailey. They claimed the right of severing in their challenges. It was therefore necessary to try them separately. The audience

Trials of Preston and Ashton. was numerous and splendid. Many peers were present. The Lord President and the two Secretaries of State attended in order to

prove that the papers produced in court were the same which Billop had brought to Whitehall. A considerable number of Judges appeared on the bench ; and Holt presided. A full report of the proceedings has

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette* from March 26 to April 13, 1691 ; *Monthly Mercuries* of March and April ; William's Letters to Heinsius of March 18 and 29, April 7, 9 ; Dangeau's *Memoirs* ; *The Siege of Mons*, a tragi-comedy, 1691. In this drama the clergy, who are in the interest of France, persuade the burghers to deliver up the town. This treason calls forth an indignant exclamation :

“ Oh priestcraft, shopcraft, how do ye effeminate  
The minds of men ! ”

come down to us, and well deserves to be attentively studied, and to be compared with the reports of other trials which had not long before taken place under the same roof. The whole spirit of the tribunal had undergone in a few months a change so complete that it might seem to have been the work of ages. Twelve years earlier, unhappy Roman Catholics, accused of wickedness which had never entered into their thoughts, had stood in that dock. The witnesses for the crown had repeated their hideous fictions amidst the applauding hums of the audience. The judges had shared, or had pretended to share, the stupid credulity and the savage passions of the populace, had exchanged smiles and compliments with the perjured informers, had roared down the arguments feebly stammered forth by the prisoners, and had not been ashamed, in passing the sentence of death, to make ribald jests on purgatory and the mass. As soon as the butchery of Papists was over, the butchery of Whigs had commenced ; and the judges had applied themselves to their new work with even more than their old barbarity. To these scandals the Revolution had put an end. Whoever, after perusing the trials of Ireland and Pickering, of Grove and Berry, of Sidney, Cornish, and Alice Lisle, turns to the trials of Preston and Ashton, will be astonished by the contrast. The Solicitor-general, Somers, conducted the prosecutions with a moderation and humanity of which his predecessors had left him no example. " I did never think," he said, " that it was the part of any who were of counsel for the King in cases of this nature to aggravate the crime of the prisoners, or to put false colors on the evidence." <sup>1</sup> Holt's

<sup>1</sup> Trial of Preston in the *Collection of State Trials*. A person

conduct was faultless. Pollexfen, an older man than Holt or Somers, retained a little—and a little was too much—of the tone of that bad school in which he had been bred. But, though he once or twice forgot the austere decorum of his place, he cannot be accused of any violation of substantial justice. The prisoners themselves seem to have been surprised by the fairness and gentleness with which they were treated. “I would not mislead the jury, I’ll assure you,” said Holt to Preston; “nor do Your Lordship any manner of injury in the world.” “No, my Lord,” said Preston; “I see it well enough that your Lordship would not.” “Whatever my fate may be,” said Ashton, “I cannot but own that I have had a fair trial for my life.”

The culprits gained nothing by the moderation of the Solicitor-general or by the impartiality of the Court: for the evidence was irresistible. The meaning of the papers seized by Billop was so plain that the dullest juryman could not misunderstand it. Of those papers part was fully proved to be in Preston’s handwriting. Part was in Ashton’s handwriting: but this the counsel for the prosecution had not the means of proving. They therefore rested the case against Ashton on the indisputable facts that the treasonable packet had been found in his bosom, and that he had used

who was present gives the following account of Somers’s opening speech: “In the opening the evidence, there was no affected exaggeration of matters, nor ostentation of a putid eloquence, one after another, as in former trials, like so many geese cackling in a row. Here was nothing besides fair matter of fact, or natural and just reflections from thence arising.” The pamphlet from which I quote these words is entitled *An Account of the Late Horrid Conspiracy, by a Person who was Present at the Trials*, 1691.

language which was quite unintelligible except on the supposition that he had a guilty knowledge of the contents.<sup>1</sup>

Both Preston and Ashton were convicted and sentenced to death. Ashton was speedily executed. He might have saved his life by making disclosures. But, though he declared that, if he were spared, he would always be a faithful subject of Their Majesties, he was fully resolved not to give up the names of his accomplices. In this resolution he was encouraged by the nonjuring divines who attended him in his cell. It was probably by their influence that he was induced to deliver to the Sheriffs on the scaffold a declaration which he had transcribed and signed, but had not, it is to be hoped, composed or attentively considered. In this paper he was made to complain of the unfairness of a trial which he had himself in public acknowledged to have been eminently fair. He was also made to aver, on the word of a dying man, that he knew nothing of the papers which had been found upon him. Unfortunately his declaration, when inspected, proved to be in the same handwriting with one of the most important of those papers. He died with manly fortitude.<sup>2</sup>

Elliot was not brought to trial. The evidence against him was not quite so clear as that on which his

<sup>1</sup> *State Trials*.

<sup>2</sup> Paper delivered by Mr. Ashton, at his execution, to Sir Francis Child, Sheriff of London; Answer to the Paper delivered by Mr. Ashton. The Answer was written by Dr. Edward Fowler, afterward Bishop of Gloucester. Burnet, ii., 70; Letter from Bishop Lloyd to Dodwell, in the second volume of Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*.



associates had been convicted ; and he was not worth the anger of the ruling powers. The fate of Preston was

Preston's irresolution and confessions.

long in suspense. The Jacobites affected to be confident that the government would not dare to shed his blood. He was, they said, a favorite at Versailles, and his death would be followed by a terrible retaliation. They scattered about the streets of London papers in which it was asserted that, if any harm befell him, Mountjoy, and all the other Englishmen of quality who were prisoners in France, would be broken on the wheel.<sup>1</sup> These absurd threats would not have deferred the execution one day. But those who had Preston in their power were not unwilling to spare him on certain conditions. He was privy to all the counsels of the disaffected party, and could furnish information of the highest value. He was informed that his fate depended on himself. The struggle was long and severe. Pride, conscience, party spirit, were on one side ; the intense love of life on the other. He went during a time irresolutely to and fro. He listened to his brother Jacobites ; and his courage rose. He listened to the agents of the government ; and his heart sank within him. In an evening, when he had dined and drunk his claret, he feared nothing. He would die like a man rather than save his neck by an act of baseness. But his temper was very different when he woke the next morning, when the courage which he had drawn from wine and company had evaporated, when he was alone with the iron grates and stone walls, and when the thought of the block, the axe, and the sawdust rose in his mind. During some time he regularly wrote a

<sup>1</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*.

confession every forenoon, when he was sober, and burned it every night when he was merry.<sup>1</sup> His non-juring friends formed a plan for bringing Sancroft to visit the Tower, in the hope, doubtless, that the exhortations of so great a prelate and so great a saint would confirm the wavering virtue of the prisoner.<sup>2</sup> Whether this plan would have been successful may be doubted : it was not carried into effect : the fatal hour drew near ; and the fortitude of Preston gave way. He confessed his guilt, and named Clarendon, Dartmouth, the Bishop of Ely, and William Penn as his accomplices. He added a long list of persons against whom he could not himself give evidence, but who, if he could trust to Penn's assurances, were friendly to King James. Among these persons were Devonshire and Dorset.<sup>3</sup> There is not the slightest reason to believe that either of these great noblemen had any dealings, direct or indirect, with Saint Germain. It is not, however, necessary to accuse Penn of deliberate falsehood. He was credulous and garrulous. The Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain had shared in the vexation with which their party had observed the leaning of William toward the Tories ; and they had probably expressed that vexation unguardedly. So weak a man as Penn, wishing to find Jacobites everywhere, and prone to believe whatever he wished, might easily put an erroneous construction on invectives such as the haughty and irritable Devonshire was but too ready to utter, and on

<sup>1</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary* ; Burnet, ii., 71.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Collier and Cook to Sancroft among the Tanner MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Caermarthen to William, February 3, 1691 ; *Life of James*, ii., 443.

sarcasms such as, in moments of spleen, dropped but too easily from the lips of the keen-witted Dorset. Caermarthen, a Tory, and a Tory who had been mercilessly persecuted by the Whigs, was disposed to make the most of this idle hearsay. But he received no encouragement from his master, who, of all the great politicians mentioned in history, was the least prone to suspicion. When William returned to England, Preston was brought before him, and was commanded to repeat the confession which had already been made to the ministers. The King stood behind the Lord President's chair and listened gravely while Clarendon, Dartmouth, Turner, and Penn were named. But as soon as the prisoner, passing from what he could himself testify, began to repeat the stories which Penn had told him, William touched Caermarthen on the shoulder, and said, "My Lord, we have had too much of this."<sup>1</sup> The King's judicious magnanimity had its proper reward. Devonshire and Dorset became from that day more zealous than ever in the cause of the master who, in spite of calumny, for which their own indiscretion had perhaps furnished some ground, had continued to repose confidence in their loyalty.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That this account of what passed is true in substance is sufficiently proved by the *Life of James*, ii., 443. I have taken one or two slight circumstances from Dalrymple, who, I believe, took them from papers, now irrecoverably lost, which he had seen in the Scotch College at Paris.

<sup>2</sup> The wisdom of William's "seeming clemency" is admitted in the *Life of James*, ii., 443. The Prince of Orange's method, it is acknowledged, "succeeded so well that, whatever sentiments those Lords which Mr. Penn had named might have had at that time, they proved in effect most bitter enemies to His Majesty's cause afterward." It ought to be observed that this

Even those who were undoubtedly criminal were generally treated with great lenity. Clarendon lay in the Tower about six months. His guilt Lenity shown to the conspirators. was fully established ; and a party among the Whigs called loudly and importunately for his head. But he was saved by the pathetic entreaties of his brother Rochester, by the good offices of the humane and generous Burnet, and by Mary's respect for the memory of her mother. The prisoner's confinement was not strict. He was allowed to entertain his friends at dinner. When at length his health began to suffer from restraint, he was permitted to go into the country under the care of a warder : the warder was soon removed ; and Clarendon was informed that, while he led a quiet rural life, he should not be molested.<sup>1</sup>

The treason of Dartmouth was of no common dye. He was an English seaman, and he had laid a plan for betraying Portsmouth to the French, and Dartmouth. had offered to take the command of a French squadron against his country. It was a serious aggravation of his guilt that he had been one of the very first persons who took the oaths to William and Mary. He was arrested and brought to the Council Chamber. A narrative of what passed there, written by himself, has been preserved. In that narrative he admits that he was treated with great courtesy and delicacy. He vehemently asserted his innocence. He declared that

part of the *Life of James* was revised and corrected by his son.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Diary* ; Evelyn's *Diary*, Mar. 25, April 22, July 11, 1691 ; Burnet, ii., 71 ; Letters of Rochester to Burnet, March 21 and April 2, 1691.

he had never corresponded with Saint Germain, that he was no favorite there, and that Mary of Modena in particular owed him a grudge. "My Lords," he said, "I am an Englishman. I always, when the interest of the House of Bourbon was strongest here, shunned the French, both men and women. I would lose the last drop of my blood rather than see Portsmouth in the power of foreigners. I am not such a fool as to think that King Lewis will conquer us merely for the benefit of King James. I am certain that nothing can be truly imputed to me beyond some foolish talk over a bottle." His protestations seem to have produced some effect ; for he was at first permitted to remain in the gentle custody of the Black Rod. On further inquiry, however, it was determined to send him to the Tower. After a confinement of a few weeks, he died of apoplexy : but he lived long enough to complete his disgrace by offering his sword to the new government, and by expressing in fervent language his hope that he might, by the goodness of God and of Their Majesties, have an opportunity of showing how much he hated the French.<sup>1</sup>

Turner ran no serious risk : for the government was most unwilling to send to the scaffold one of the Seven who had signed the memorable petition. A warrant was, however, issued for his apprehension ; and his friend had little hope that he would long remain undiscovered : for his nose was such as none who had seen it could forget ; and it was to little purpose that he put on a flowing wig, and that he suffered his beard to grow. The pursuit was probably

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 443, 450 ; Legge Papers in the Mackintosh Collection.



not very hot : for, after skulking a few weeks in England, he succeeded in crossing the Channel, and passed some time in France.<sup>1</sup>

A warrant was issued against Penn ; and he narrowly escaped the messengers. It chanced that, on the day on which they were sent in search of Penn, him, he was attending a remarkable ceremony at some distance from his home. An event had taken place which a historian, whose object is to recall the real life of a nation, ought not to pass unnoticed. While London was agitated by the news that a plot had been discovered, George Fox, the founder of the sect of the Quakers, died.

More than forty years had elapsed since Fox had begun to see visions and to cast out devils.<sup>2</sup> He was then a youth of pure morals and grave deportment, with a perverse temper, with the education of a laboring man, and with an intellect in the most unhappy of all states, that is to say, too much disordered for liberty, and not suffi-

Death of  
George Fox :  
his character.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 71 ; Evelyn's *Diary*, Jan. 4 and 18, 1690 $\frac{1}{2}$  ; Letter from Turner to Sancroft, Jan. 19, 1691 $\frac{1}{2}$  ; Letter from Sancroft to Lloyd of Norwich, April 2, 1692. These two letters are among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and are printed in the *Life of Ken by a Layman*. Turner's escape to France is mentioned in Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary* for February, 1690. See also *A Dialogue between the Bishop of Ely and his Conscience*, 16th February, 1691 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The dialogue is interrupted by the sound of trumpets. The Bishop hears himself proclaimed a traitor, and cries out,

"Come, brother Pen, 't is time we both were gone."

<sup>2</sup> For a specimen of his vision, see his *Journal*, page 13 ; for his casting out of devils, page 26. I quote the folio edition of 1765.

ciently disordered for Bedlam. The circumstances in which he was placed were such as could scarcely fail to bring out in the strongest form the constitutional diseases of his mind. At the time when his faculties were ripening, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, were striving for mastery, and were, in every corner of the realm, refuting and reviling each other. He wandered from congregation to congregation : he heard priests harangue against Puritans : he heard Puritans harangue against priests ; and he in vain applied for spiritual direction and consolation to doctors of both parties. One jolly old clergyman of the Anglican communion told him to smoke tobacco and sing psalms : another counselled him to go and lose some blood.<sup>1</sup> From these advisers the young inquirer turned in disgust to the Dissenters, and found them also blind guides.<sup>2</sup> After some time he came to the conclusion that no human being was competent to instruct him in divine things, and that the truth had been communicated to him by direct inspiration from Heaven. He argued that, as the division of languages began at Babel, and as the persecutors of Christ put on the cross an inscription in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the knowledge of languages, and more especially of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, must be useless to a Christian minister.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, he was so far from knowing

<sup>1</sup>*Journal*, page 4.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, page 7.

<sup>3</sup>“ What they know, they know naturally, who turn from the command and err from the spirit, whose fruit withers, who saith that Hebrew, Greek, and Latine is the original : before Babell was, the earth was of one language ; and Nimrod, the cunning hunter, before the Lord, which came out of cursed Ham's stock, the original and builder of Babell, whom God confounded with

many languages that he knew none : nor can the most corrupt passage in Hebrew be more unintelligible to the unlearned than his English often is to the most acute and attentive reader.<sup>1</sup> One of the precious truths

many languages, and this they say is the original who erred from the spirit and command; and Pilate had his original Hebrew, Greek, and Latine, which crucified Christ and set over him.”—*A Message from the Lord to the Parliament of England*, by G. Fox, 1654. The same argument will be found in the *Journal*, but has been put by the editor into a little better English. “Dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these natural confused languages which sprung from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set atop of Christ, the Life, by a persecutor?”—Page 64.

<sup>1</sup> His *Journal*, before it was published, was revised by men of more sense and knowledge than himself, and therefore, absurd as it is, gives no notion of his genuine style. The following is a fair specimen. It is the exordium of one of his manifestoes. “Them which the world who are without the fear of God calls Quakers in scorn do deny all opinions, and they do deny all conceivings, and they do deny all sects, and they do deny all imaginations, and notions, and judgments which riseth out of the will and the thoughts, and do deny witchcraft and all oaths, and the world and the works of it, and their worships and their customs with the light, and do deny false ways and false worships, seducers and deceivers which are now seen to be in the world with the light, and with it they are condemned, which light leadeth to peace and life from death, which now thousands do witness the new teacher Christ, him by whom the world was made, who raigus among the children of light, and with the spirit and power of the living God, doth let them see and know the chaff from the wheat, and doth see that which must be shaken with that which cannot be shaken or moved, what gives to see that which is shaken and moved, such as live in the notions, opinions, conceivings, and thoughts, and fancies, these be all shaken and comes to be on heaps, which they who witness those things before mentioned shaken and removed walks in

which were divinely revealed to this new apostle was, that it was falsehood and adulation to use the second person plural instead of the second person singular. Another was, that to talk of the month of March was to worship the blood-thirsty god Mars, and that to talk of Monday was to pay idolatrous homage to the moon. To say Good-morning or Good-evening was highly reprehensible ; for those phrases evidently imported that God had made bad days and bad nights.<sup>1</sup> A Christian was bound to face death itself rather than touch his hat to the greatest of mankind. When Fox was challenged to produce any Scriptural authority for this dogma, he cited the passage in which it is written that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were thrown into the fiery furnace with their hats on ; and, if his own narrative may be trusted, the Chief-justice of England was altogether unable to answer this argument except by crying out, " Take him away, jailer." <sup>2</sup> Fox insisted much on the not less weighty argument that the Turks never show their bare heads to their superiors ; and he asked, with great animation, whether those who bore the noble name of Christians ought not to surpass Turks in virtue.<sup>3</sup> Bowing he strictly prohibited, and, indeed, seemed to consider it as the effect of Satanical influence ; for, as he observed, peace not seen and discerned by them who walks in those things unremoved and not shaken."—*A Warning to the World that are Groping in the Dark*, by G. Fox, 1655.

<sup>1</sup> See the piece entitled *Concerning Good-morrow and Good-even, the World's Customs, but by the Light which into the World is come by it made manifest to all who be in the Darkness*, by G. Fox, 1657.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, page 166.

<sup>3</sup> Epistle from Harlingen, 11th of 6th month, 1677.

the woman in the Gospel, while she had a spirit of infirmity, was bowed together, and ceased to bow as soon as divine power had liberated her from the tyranny of the Evil One.<sup>1</sup> His expositions of the sacred writings were of a very peculiar kind. Passages, which had been, in the apprehension of all the readers of the Gospels during sixteen centuries, figurative, he construed literally. Passages, which no human being before him had ever understood in any other than a literal sense, he construed figuratively. Thus, from those rhetorical expressions in which the duty of patience under injuries is enjoined he deduced the doctrine that self-defence against pirates and assassins is unlawful. On the other hand, the plain commands to baptize with water, and to partake of bread and wine in commemoration of the redemption of mankind, he pronounced to be allegorical. He long wandered from place to place, teaching this strange theology, shaking like an aspen leaf in his paroxysms of fanatical excitement, forcing his way into churches, which he nicknamed steeple-houses, interrupting prayers and sermons with clamor and scurrility,<sup>2</sup> and pestering rectors and justices with epistles much resembling burlesques of those sublime odes in which the Hebrew prophets foretold the calamities of Babylon and Tyre.<sup>3</sup> He soon acquired great notoriety by these feats. His strange

<sup>1</sup> *Of Bowings*, by G. Fox, 1657.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the *Journal*, pages 24, 26, and 51.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the Epistle to Sawrey, a justice of the peace, in the *Journal*, page 86; the Epistle to William Lampitt, a clergyman, which begins, "The word of the Lord to thee, oh Lampitt," page 88; and the Epistle to another clergyman whom he calls Priest Tatham, page 92.



face, his strange chant, his immovable hat, and his leather breeches were known all over the country; and he boasts that, as soon as the rumor was heard, "The Man in Leather Breeches is coming," terror seized hypocritical professors, and hireling priests made haste to get out of his way.<sup>1</sup> He was repeatedly imprisoned and set in the stocks, sometimes justly, for disturbing the public worship of congregations, and sometimes unjustly, for merely talking nonsense. He soon gathered round him a body of disciples, some of whom went beyond himself in absurdity. He has told us that one of his friends walked naked through Skipton declaring the truth,<sup>2</sup> and that another was divinely moved to go naked, during several years to market-places, and to the houses of gentlemen and clergymen.<sup>3</sup> Fox complains bitterly that these pious acts, prompted by the Holy Spirit, were requited by an untoward generation with hooting, pelting, coachwhipping, and horsewhipping. But, though he applauded the zeal of the sufferers, he did not go quite to their lengths. He sometimes, indeed, was impelled to strip himself partially. Thus he pulled off his shoes and walked barefoot through Lichfield, crying, "Woe to the bloody city."<sup>4</sup> But it does not appear that he ever thought it his duty to exhibit himself before the public without that decent garment from which his popular appellation was derived.

If we form our judgment of George Fox simply by looking at his own actions and writings, we shall see no reason for placing him, morally or intellectually, above Ludowick Muggleton or Joanna Southcote. But

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, page 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, page 48.





it would be most unjust to rank the sect which regards him as its founder with the Muggletonians or the Southcotians. It chanced that among the thousands whom his enthusiasm affected, were a few persons whose abilities and attainments were of a very different order from his own. Robert Barclay was a man of considerable parts and learning. William Penn, though inferior to Barclay in both natural and acquired abilities, was a gentleman and a scholar. That such men should have become the followers of George Fox ought not to astonish any person who remembers what quick, vigorous, and highly cultivated intellects were in our own time duped by the unknown tongues. The truth is that no powers of mind constitute a security against errors of this description. Touching God and his ways with man, the highest human faculties can discover little more than the meanest. In theology, the interval is small indeed between Aristotle and a child, between Archimedes and a naked savage. It is not strange, therefore, that wise men, weary of investigation, tormented by uncertainty, longing to believe something, and yet seeing objections to everything, should submit themselves absolutely to teachers who, with firm and undoubting faith, lay claim to a supernatural commission. Thus we frequently see inquisitive and restless spirits take refuge from their own scepticism in the bosom of a Church which pretends to infallibility, and, after questioning the existence of a Deity, bring themselves to worship a wafer. And thus it was that Fox made some converts to whom he was immeasurably inferior in everything except the energy of his convictions. By these converts his rude doctrines were polished into a

form somewhat less shocking to good sense and good taste. No proposition which he had laid down was retracted. No indecent or ridiculous act which he had done or approved was condemned : but what was most grossly absurd in his theories and practices was softened down, or at least not obtruded on the public : whatever could be made to appear specious was set in the fairest light : his gibberish was translated into English : meanings which he would have been quite unable to comprehend were put on his phrases ; and his system, so much improved that he would not have known it again, was defended by numerous citations from Pagan philosophers and Christian fathers whose names he had never heard.<sup>1</sup> Still, however, those who had remodelled his theology continued to profess, and

<sup>1</sup> "Especially of late," says Leslie, the keenest of all the enemies of the sect, "some of them have made nearer advances toward Christianity than ever before ; and among them the ingenious Mr. Penn has of late refined some of their gross notions, and brought them into some form, and has made them speak sense and English, of both which George Fox, their first and great apostle, was totally ignorant. . . . They endeavor all they can to make it appear that their doctrine was uniform from the beginning, and that there has been no alteration ; and therefore they take upon them to defend all the writings of George Fox, and others of the first Quakers, and turn and wind them to make them (but it is impossible) agree with what they teach now at this day." (*The Snake in the Grass*, 3d ed., 1698, Introduction.) Leslie was always more civil to his brother Jacobite Penn than to any other Quaker. Penn himself says of his master, "As abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations." That is to say, George Fox talked nonsense, and some of his friends paraphrased it into sense.



doubtless to feel, profound reverence for him ; and his crazy epistles were to the last received and read with respect in Quaker meetings all over the country. His death produced a sensation which was not confined to his own disciples. On the morning of the funeral a great multitude assembled round the meeting-house in Gracechurch Street. Thence the corpse was borne to the burial-ground of the sect near Bunhill Fields. Several orators addressed the crowd, which filled the cemetery. Penn was conspicuous among those disciples who committed the venerable corpse to the earth. The ceremony had scarcely been finished when he learned that warrants were out against him. He instantly took flight, and remained many months concealed from the public eye.<sup>1</sup>

A short time after his disappearance, Sidney received from him a strange communication. Penn begged for an interview, but insisted on a promise that he should be suffered to return unmolested to his hiding-place. Sidney obtained the

Interview between Penn and Sidney.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Life of Penn* which is prefixed to his works, we are told that the warrants were issued on the 16th of January, 1690, in consequence of an accusation backed by the oath of William Fuller, who is truly designated as a wretch, a cheat, and an impostor ; and this story is repeated by Mr. Clarkson. It is, however, certainly false. Caermarthen, writing to William on the 3d of February, says that there was then only one witness against Penn, and that Preston was that one witness. It is therefore evident that Fuller was not the informer on whose oath the warrant against Penn was issued. In fact, Fuller appears, from his *Life of himself*, to have been then at the Hague ; nor is there any reason to believe that he ever pretended to know anything about Preston's plot. When Nottingham wrote to William on the 26th of June, a second witness against Penn had come forward.

royal permission to make an appointment on these terms. Penn came to the rendezvous, and spoke at length in his own defence. He declared that he was a faithful subject of King William and Queen Mary, and that, if he knew of any design against them, he would discover it. Departing from his Yea and Nay, he protested, as in the presence of God, that he knew of no plot, and that he did not believe that there was any plot, unless the ambitious projects of the French government might be called plots. Sidney, amazed probably by hearing a person, who had such an abhorrence of lies that he would not use the common forms of civility, and such an abhorrence of oaths that he would not kiss the book in a court of justice, tell something very like a lie, and confirm it by something very like an oath, asked how, if there were really no plot, the letters and minutes which had been found on Ashton were to be explained. This question Penn evaded. "If," he said, "I could only see the King, I would confess everything to him freely. I would tell him much that it would be important for him to know. It is only in that way that I can be of service to him. A witness for the crown I cannot be : for my conscience will not suffer me to be sworn." He assured Sidney that the most formidable enemies of the government were the discontented Whigs. "The Jacobites are not dangerous. There is not a man among them who has common understanding. Some persons who came over from Holland with the King are much more to be dreaded." It does not appear that Penn mentioned any names. He was suffered to depart in safety. No active search was made for him. He lay hid in London during some months, and then stole down to the

coast of Sussex and made his escape to France. After about three years of wandering and lurking, he, by the mediation of some eminent men, who overlooked his faults for the sake of his good qualities, made his peace with the government, and again ventured to resume his ministrations. The return which he made for the lenity with which he had been treated does not much raise his character. Scarcely had he again begun to harangue in public about the unlawfulness of war, when he sent a message earnestly exhorting James to make an immediate descent on England with thirty thousand men.<sup>1</sup>

Some months passed before the fate of Preston was decided. After several respites, the government, convinced that, though he had told much, he could tell more, fixed a day for his execution, and ordered the sheriffs to have the machinery of death in readiness.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to William, Feb. 27, 1691. The letter is in Dalrymple's Appendix, Part II., Book VI. Narcissus Luttrell, in his *Diary* for September, 1691, mentions Penn's escape from Shoreham to France. On the 5th of December, 1693, Narcissus made the following entry: "William Penn the Quaker, having for some time absconded, and having compromised the matters against him, appears now in public, and, on Friday last, held forth at the Bull and Mouth, in Saint Martin's." On December 18, 1693, was drawn up at Saint Germain's, under Melfort's direction, a paper containing a passage of which the following is a translation: "Mr. Penn says that Your Majesty has had several occasions, but never any so favorable as the present; and he hopes that Your Majesty will be earnest with the most Christian King not to neglect it: that a descent with thirty thousand men will not only re-establish Your Majesty, but, according to all appearances, break the league." This paper is among the Nairne MSS., and was translated by Macpherson.

<sup>2</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, April 11, 1691.

But he was again respited, and, after a delay of some weeks, obtained a pardon, which, however, extended only to his life, and left his property subject to all the consequences of his attainder.

Preston  
pardoned.

As soon as he was set at liberty he gave new cause of offence and suspicion, and was again arrested, examined, and sent to prison.<sup>1</sup> At length he was permitted to retire, pursued by the hisses and curses of both parties, to a lonely manor-house in the North Riding of Yorkshire. There, at least, he had not to endure the scornful looks of old associates who had once thought him a man of dauntless courage and spotless honor, but who now pronounced that he was at best a mean-spirited coward, and hinted their suspicions that he had been from the beginning a spy and a trepan.<sup>2</sup> He employed the short and sad remains of his life in turning the *Consolation of Boethius* into English. The translation was published after the translator's death. It is remarkable chiefly on account of some very unsuccessful attempts to enrich our versification with new metres, and on account of the allusions with which the preface is filled. Under a thin veil of figurative language, Preston exhibited to the public compassion or contempt his own blighted fame and broken heart. He complained that the tribunal which had sentenced him to death had dealt with him more leniently than his former friends, and that many, who had never been tried by temptations like his, had

<sup>1</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, August, 1691; Letter from Vernon to Wharton, Oct. 17, 1691, in the Bodleian.

<sup>2</sup> The opinion of the Jacobites appears from a letter which is among the archives of the French War-office. It was written in London on the 25th of June, 1691.

very cheaply earned a reputation for courage by sneering at his poltroonery, and by bidding defiance at a distance to horrors which, when brought near, subdued even a constant mind.

The spirit of the Jacobites, which had been quelled for a time by the detection of Preston's plot, was revived by the fall of Mons. The joy of the whole party was boundless. The nonjuring priests ran backward and forward between Sam's Coffee-house and Westminster Hall, spreading the praises of Lewis, and laughing at the miserable issue of the deliberations of the great Congress. In the Park the malcontents were in the habit of mustering daily, and one avenue was called the Jacobite walk. They now came to this rendezvous in crowds, wore their biggest looks, and talked sedition in their loudest tones. The most conspicuous among these swaggerers was Sir John Fenwick, who had, in the late reign, been high in royal favor and in military command, and was now an indefatigable agitator and conspirator. In his exultation he forgot the courtesy which man owes to woman. He had more than once made himself conspicuous by his incivility to the Queen. He now ostentatiously put himself in her way when she took her airing, and, while all around him uncovered and bowed low, gave her a rude stare, and cocked his hat in her face. The affront was not only brutal, but cowardly. For the law had provided no punishment for mere impertinence, however gross; and the King was the only gentleman and soldier in the kingdom who could not protect his wife from contumely with his sword. All that the Queen could do was to order the park-keepers not to admit Sir John

Joy of the  
Jacobites at  
the fall of  
Mons.



again within the gates. But, long after her death, a day came when he had reason to wish that he had restrained his insolence. He found, by terrible proof, that of all the Jacobites, the most desperate assassins not excepted, he was the only one for whom William felt an intense personal aversion.<sup>1</sup>

A few days after this event the rage of the malcontents began to flame more fiercely than ever. The de-

tection of the conspiracy of which Preston was the chief had brought on a crisis in ecclesiastical affairs. The nonjuring bishops

The vacant  
sees filled.

had, during the year which followed their deprivation, continued to reside in the official mansions which had once been their own. Burnet had, at Mary's request, labored to effect a compromise. His direct interference would probably have done more harm than good. He therefore judiciously employed the agency of Rochester, who stood higher in the estimation of the nonjurors than any statesman who was not a nonjuror, and of Trevor, who, worthless as he was, had considerable influence with the High-Church party. Sancroft and his brethren were informed that, if they would consent to perform their spiritual duty—to ordain, to institute, to confirm, and to watch over the faith and the morality of the priesthood—a bill should be brought into Parliament to excuse them from taking the oaths.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Welwood's *Mercurius Reformatus*, April 11, 24, 1691; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, April, 1691; L'Hermitage to the States-general, June  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>9</sup>, 1696; Calamy's *Life*. The story of Fenwick's rudeness to Mary is told in different ways. I have followed what seems to me the most authentic, and what is certainly the least disgraceful, version.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, ii., 71.

offer was imprudently liberal : but those to whom it was made could not consistently accept it. For in the ordination service, and, indeed, in almost every service of the Church, William and Mary were designated as King and Queen. The only promise that could be obtained from the deprived prelates was that they would live quietly ; and even this promise they had not all kept. One of them at least had been guilty of treason aggravated by impiety. He had, under the strong fear of being butchered by the populace, declared that he abhorred the thought of calling in the aid of France, and had invoked God to attest the sincerity of this declaration. Yet, a short time after, he had been detected in plotting to bring a French army into England ; and he had written to assure the Court of Saint Germain that he was acting in concert with his brethren, and especially with Sancroft. The Whigs called loudly for severity. Even the Tory counsellors of William owned that indulgence had been carried to the extreme point. They made, however, a last attempt to mediate. “ Will you and your brethren,” said Trevor to Lloyd, the nonjuring Bishop of Norwich, “ disown all connection with Doctor Turner, and declare that what he has in his letters imputed to you is false ? ” Lloyd evaded the question. It was now evident that William’s forbearance had only emboldened the adversaries whom he had hoped to conciliate. Even Caermarthen, even Nottingham, declared that it was high time to fill the vacant sees.<sup>1</sup>

Tillotson was nominated to the Archbishopric, and was consecrated on Whitsunday, in the Church of St.

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd to Sancroft, Jan. 24, 1691. The letter is among the Tanner MSS., and is printed in the *Life of Ken by a Layman*.

Mary Le Bow. Compton, cruelly mortified, refused to bear any part in the ceremony. His place was supplied by Mew, Bishop of Winchester, who was assisted by Tillotson, Burnet, Stillingfleet, and Hough. The congregation was the most splendid that had been seen in any place of worship since the coronation. The Queen's drawing-room was, on that day, deserted. Most of the peers who were in town met in the morning at Bedford House, and went thence in procession to Cheapside. Norfolk, Caermarthen, and Dorset were conspicuous in the throng. Devonshire, who was impatient to see his woods at Chatsworth in their summer beauty, had deferred his departure in order to mark his respect for Tillotson. The crowd which lined the streets greeted the new Primate warmly. For he had, during many years, preached in the City; and his eloquence, his probity, and the singular gentleness of his temper and manners, had made him the favorite of the Londoners.<sup>1</sup> But the congratulations and applauses of his friends could not drown the roar of execration which the Jacobites set up. According to them, he was a thief, who had not entered by the door, but had climbed over the fences. He was a hireling, whose own the sheep were not, who had usurped the crook of the good shepherd, and who might well be expected to leave the flock at the mercy of every wolf. He was an Arian, a Socinian,

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, June 1, 1691; Birch's *Life of Tillotson*; Congratulatory Poem to the Reverend Dr. Tillotson on his promotion, 1691; Vernon to Wharton, May 28 and 30, 1691. These letters to Wharton are in the Bodleian Library, and form part of a highly curious collection which was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Bandinel.

a Deist, an Atheist. He had cozened the world by fine phrases, and by a show of moral goodness ; but he was in truth a far more dangerous enemy of the Church than he could have been if he had openly proclaimed himself a disciple of Hobbes, and had lived as loosely as Wilmot. He had taught the fine gentlemen and ladies who admired his style, and who were constantly seen round his pulpit, that they might be very good Christians, and yet might believe the account of the Fall in the book of Genesis to be allegorical. Indeed, they might easily be as good Christians as he : for he had never been christened : his parents were Anabaptists : he had lost their religion when he was a boy ; and he had never found another. In ribald lampoons he was nicknamed Undipped John. The parish register of his baptism was produced in vain. His enemies still continued to complain that they had lived to see fathers of the Church who never were her children. They made up a story that the Queen had felt bitter remorse for the great crime by which she had obtained a throne, that in her agony she had applied to Tillotson, and that he had comforted her by assuring her that the punishment of the wicked in a future state would not be eternal.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop's mind was

<sup>1</sup> Birch's *Life of Tillotson* ; Leslie's *Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered by a True Son of the Church*, 1695 ; Hicke's *Discourse upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson*, 1695 ; *Catalogue of Books, of the Newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction at the Whig's Coffee-house*, evidently printed in 1693. More than sixty years later Johnson described a sturdy Jacobite as firmly convinced that Tillotson died an Atheist ; *Idler*, No. 10. A Latin epitaph on the Church of England, written soon after Tillotson's consecration, ends thus : "Oh Miseranda Ecclesia, cui Rex Batavus, et Patriarcha non baptizatus." In a

naturally of almost feminine delicacy, and had been rather softened than braced by the habits of a long life, during which contending sects and factions had agreed in speaking of his abilities with admiration, and of his character with esteem. The storm of obloquy which he had to face for the first time at more than sixty years of age was too much for him. His spirits declined : his health gave way : yet he never flinched from his duty nor attempted to revenge himself on his persecutors. A few days after his consecration, some persons were seized while dispersing libels in which he was reviled. The law officers of the crown proposed to file informations ; but he insisted that nobody should be punished on his account.<sup>1</sup> Once, when he had company with him, a sealed packet was put into his hands : he opened it, and out fell a mask. His friends were shocked and incensed by this cowardly insult : but the Archbishop, trying to conceal his anguish by a smile, pointed to the pamphlets which covered his table, and said that the reproach which the emblem of the mask was intended to convey might be called gentle when compared with other reproaches which he daily had to endure. After his death a bundle of the savage lampoons which the nonjurors had circulated against him was found among his papers with this indorsement : “ I pray God forgive them : I do.”<sup>2</sup>

poem called the *Eucharisticon*, which appeared in 1692, are these lines :

“ Unblest and unbaptised, this Church's son  
Hath all his Mother's children half undone.”

<sup>1</sup> Tillotson to Lady Russell, June 23, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Birch's *Life of Tillotson* ; *Memorials of Tillotson* by his pupil John Beardmore ; Sherlock's sermon preached in the Temple Church on the death of Queen Mary, 1694.



The deposed primate was of a less gentle nature. He seems to have been also under a complete delusion as to his own importance. The immense popularity which he had enjoyed three years before, the prayers and tears of the multitudes who had plunged into the Thames to implore his blessing, the enthusiasm with which the sentinels of the Tower had drunk his health under the windows of his prison, the mighty roar of joy which had risen from Palace Yard on the morning of his acquittal, the triumphant night when every window from Hyde Park to Mile End had exhibited seven candles, the midmost and tallest emblematical of him, were still fresh in his recollection ; nor had he the wisdom to perceive that all this homage had been paid, not to his person, but to that religion and to those liberties of which he was, for a moment, the representative. The extreme tenderness with which the new government had long persisted in treating him had confirmed him in his error. That a succession of conciliatory messages was sent to him from Kensington ; that he was offered terms so liberal as to be scarcely consistent with the dignity of the crown and the welfare of the State ; that his cold and uncourteous answers could not tire out the royal indulgence ; that, in spite of the loud clamors of the Whigs, and of the provocations daily given by the Jacobites, he was residing, fifteen months after deprivation, in the metropolitan palace ; these things seemed to him to indicate, not the lenity, but the timidity, of the ruling powers. He appears to have flattered himself that they would not dare to eject him. The news, therefore, that his see had been filled, threw him into a passion which lasted

Conduct of  
Sancroft.

as long as his life, and which hurried him into many foolish and unseemly actions. Tillotson, as soon as he was appointed, went to Lambeth in the hope that he might be able, by courtesy and kindness, to soothe the irritation of which he was the innocent cause. He stayed long in the antechamber, and sent in his name by several servants : but Sancroft would not even return an answer.<sup>1</sup> Three weeks passed ; and still the deprived Archbishop showed no disposition to move. At length he received an order intimating to him the royal pleasure that he should quit the dwelling which had long ceased to be his own, and in which he was only a guest. He resented this order bitterly, and declared that he would not obey it. He would stay till he was pulled out by the Sheriff's officers. He would defend himself at law as long as he could do so without putting in any plea acknowledging the authority of the usurpers.<sup>2</sup> The case was so clear that he could not, by any artifice of chicanery, obtain more than a short delay. When judgment had been given against him, he left the palace, but directed his steward to retain possession. The consequence was that the steward was taken into custody and heavily fined. Tillotson sent a kind message to assure his predecessor that the fine should not be exacted. But Sancroft was determined to have a grievance, and would pay the money.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wharton's *Collectanea* quoted in Birch's *Life of Tillotson*.

<sup>2</sup> Wharton's *Collectanea* quoted in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft* ; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> The Lambeth MS. quoted in D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft* ; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary* ; Vernon to Wharton, June 9, 11, 1691.

From that time the great object of the narrow-minded and peevish old man was to tear in pieces the Church of which he had been the chief minister. It was in vain that some of those nonjurors, whose virtue, ability, and learning were the glory of their party, remonstrated against his design. “Our deprivation”—such was the reasoning of Ken—“is, in the sight of God, a nullity. We are, and shall be, till we die or resign, the true Bishops of our sees. Those who assume our titles and functions will incur the guilt of schism. But with us, if we act as becomes us, the schism will die; and in the next generation the unity of the Church will be restored. On the other hand, if we consecrate Bishops to succeed us, the breach may last through ages; and we shall be justly held accountable, not indeed for its origin, but for its continuance.” These considerations ought, on Sancroft’s own principles, to have had decisive weight with him: but his angry passions prevailed. Ken quietly retired from the venerable palace of Wells. He had done, he said, with strife, should henceforth vent his feelings, not in disputes, but in hymns. His charities to the unhappy of all persuasions, especially to the followers of Monmouth and to the persecuted Huguenots, had been so large that his whole private fortune consisted of seven hundred pounds, and of a library which he could not bear to sell. But Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth, though not a nonjuror, did himself honor by offering to the most virtuous of the nonjurors a tranquil and dignified asylum in the princely mansion of Longleat. There Ken passed a happy and honored old age, during which he never regretted the sacrifice which he had made to what he thought his

duty, and yet constantly became more and more indulgent to those whose views of duty differed from his.<sup>1</sup>

Sancroft was of a very different temper. He had, indeed, as little to complain of as any man whom a

Hatred of  
Sancroft to  
the Estab-  
lished  
Church. He  
provides for  
the episcopal  
succession  
among the  
nonjurors.

revolution has ever hurled down from an exalted station. He had, at Fressingfield, in Suffolk, a patrimonial estate, which, together with what he had saved during a primacy of twelve years, enabled him to live, not indeed as he had lived when he was the first peer of Parliament, but in the style of an opulent country gentleman. He retired to his hereditary abode; and there he passed the rest of his life in brooding over his wrongs. Aversion to the Established Church became as strong a feeling in him as it had been in Martin Marprelate. He considered all who remained in communion with her as heathens and publicans. He nicknamed Tillotson the Mufti. In the room which was used as a chapel at Fressingfield no person who had taken the oaths, or who attended the ministry of any divine who had taken the oaths, was suffered to partake of the sacred bread and wine. A distinction, however, was made between two classes of offenders. A layman who remained in communion with the Church was permitted to be present while prayers were read, and was excluded only from the highest of Christian mysteries. But with clergymen who had sworn allegiance to the Sovereigns in possession Sancroft would not even pray. He took care that the rule which he had laid down

<sup>1</sup> See a letter of R. Nelson, dated Feb. 21, 1710, in the Appendix to N. Marshall's *Defence of our Constitution in Church and State*, 1717; Hawkins's *Life of Ken*; *Life of Ken by a Layman*.

should be widely known, and, both by precept and by example, taught his followers to look on the most orthodox, the most devout, the most virtuous, of those who acknowledged William's authority with a feeling similar to that with which the Jew regarded the Samaritan.<sup>1</sup> Such intolerance would have been reprehensible, even in a man contending for a great principle. But Sancroft was contending for nothing more than a name. He was the author of the scheme of Regency. He was perfectly willing to transfer the whole kingly power from James to William. The question, which, to this smallest and sourest of minds, seemed important enough to justify the excommunicating of ten thousand priests and of five millions of laymen, was merely, whether the magistrate to whom the whole kingly power was transferred should assume the kingly title. Nor could Sancroft bear to think that the animosity which he had excited would die with himself. Having done all that he could to make the feud bitter, he determined to make it eternal. A list of the divines who had been ejected from their benefices was sent by him to Saint Germain with a request that James would nominate two who might keep up the episcopal succession. James, well pleased, doubtless, to see another sect added to that multitude of sects which he had been taught to consider as the reproach of Protestantism, named two fierce and uncompromising nonjurors, Hickes and Wagstaffe, the former recommended by Sancroft, the latter recommended by Lloyd, the ejected Bishop of Norwich.<sup>2</sup> Such was the origin of a schismatical hierarchy, which, having,

<sup>1</sup> See a paper dedicated by him on the 15th of Nov., 1693, in Wagstaffe's Letter from Suffolk.      <sup>2</sup> Kettlewell's Life, ii., 59.



during a short time, excited alarm, soon sank into obscurity and contempt, but which, in obscurity and contempt, continued to drag on a languid existence during several generations. The little Church, without temples, revenues, or dignities, was even more distracted by internal disputes than the great Church, which retained possession of cathedrals, tithes, and peerages. Some nonjurors leaned toward the ceremonial of Rome : others would not tolerate the slightest departure from the Book of Common Prayer. Altar was set up against altar. One phantom prelate pronounced the consecration of another phantom prelate uncanonical. At length the pastors were left absolutely without flocks. One of these Lords spiritual very wisely turned surgeon : another deserted what he had called his see, and settled in Ireland ; and at length, in 1805, the last Bishop of that society which had proudly claimed to be the only true Church of England dropped unnoticed into the grave.<sup>1</sup>

The places of the bishops who had been ejected with Sancroft were filled in a manner creditable to the government. Patrick succeeded the traitor  
The new  
Bishops. Turner. Fowler went to Gloucester. Richard Cumberland, an aged divine, who had no interest at court, and whose only recommendations were his piety and his erudition, was astonished by learning from a news-letter which he found on the table of a coffee-house that he had been nominated to the see of Peterborough.<sup>2</sup> Beveridge was selected to

<sup>1</sup> See D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and Mr. Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*.

<sup>2</sup> See the autobiography of his descendant and namesake the dramatist. See also Onslow's note on Burnet, ii., 76.

succeed Ken : he consented ; and the appointment was actually announced in the London Gazette. But Beveridge, though an honest, was not a strong-minded man. Some Jacobites expostulated with him : some reviled him : his heart failed him, and he retracted. While the nonjurors were rejoicing in this victory, he changed his mind again ; but too late. He had by his irresolution forfeited the favor of William, and never obtained a mitre till Anne was on the throne.<sup>1</sup> The bishopric of Bath and Wells was bestowed on Richard Kidder, a man of considerable attainments and blameless character, but suspected of a leaning toward Presbyterianism. About the same time Sharp, the highest Churchman that had been zealous for the Comprehension, and the lowest Churchman that felt a scruple about succeeding a deprived prelate, accepted the Archbishopric of York, vacant by the death of Lamplugh.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of the elevation of Tillotson to the See of Canterbury, the Deanery of Saint Paul's became vacant. As soon as the name of the new  
 Sherlock,  
 Dean of Saint Paul's. Dean was known, a clamor broke forth such as perhaps no ecclesiastical appointment has ever produced, a clamor made up of yells of hatred, of hisses of contempt, and of shouts of triumphant and

<sup>1</sup> *A Vindication of Their Majesties' Authority to fill the sees of the Deprived Bishops*, May 20, 1691 ; *London Gazette*, April 27 and June 15, 1691 ; Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary*, May, 1691. Among the Tanner MSS. are two letters from Jacobites to Beveridge, one mild and decent, the other scurrilous even beyond the ordinary scurrility of the nonjurors. The former will be found in the *Life of Ken by a Layman*.

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear whether Sharp's scruple about the deprived prelates was a scruple of conscience or merely a scruple of delicacy. See his *Life* by his son.

half insulting welcome; for the new Dean was William Sherlock.

The story of his conversion deserves to be fully told : for it throws great light on the character of the parties which then divided the Church and the State. Sherlock was, in influence and reputation, though not in rank, the foremost man among the nonjurors. His authority and example had induced some of his brethren, who had at first wavered, to resign their benefices. The day of suspension came : the day of deprivation came ; and still he was firm. He seemed to have found, in the consciousness of rectitude, and in meditation on the invisible world, ample compensation for all his losses. While excluded from the pulpit where his eloquence had once delighted the learned and polite inmates of the Temple, he wrote that celebrated *Treatise on Death* which, during many years, stood next to the *Whole Duty of Man* in the bookcases of serious Arminians. Soon, however, it began to be suspected that his resolution was giving way. He declared that he would be no party to a schism : he advised those who sought his counsel not to leave their parish churches : nay, finding that the law which had ejected him from his cure did not interdict him from performing divine service, he officiated at Saint Dunstan's, and there prayed for King William and Queen Mary. The apostolical injunction, he said, was that prayers should be made for all in authority ; and William and Mary were visibly in authority. His Jacobite friends loudly blamed his inconsistency. How, they asked, if you admit that the Apostle speaks in this passage of actual authority, can you maintain that in other passages of a similar kind he speaks only of legitimate authority ?









Or, how can you, without sin, designate as King, in a solemn address to God, one whom you cannot, without sin, promise to obey as King? These reasonings were unanswerable; and Sherlock soon began to think them so: but the conclusion to which they led him was diametrically opposed to the conclusion to which they were meant to lead him. He hesitated, however, till a new light flashed on his mind from a quarter from which there was little reason to expect anything but tenfold darkness. In the reign of James the First, Doctor John Overall, Bishop of Exeter, had written an elaborate treatise on the rights of civil and ecclesiastical governors. This treatise had been solemnly approved by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and might therefore be considered as an authoritative exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England. A manuscript copy had come into Sancroft's hands; and he, soon after the Revolution, sent it to the press. He hoped, doubtless, that the publication would injure the new government: but he was lamentably disappointed. The book, indeed, condemned all resistance in terms as strong as he could himself have used: but one passage, which had escaped his notice, was decisive against himself and his fellow schismatics. Overall, and the two Convocations which had given their sanction to Overall's teaching, pronounced that a government, which had originated in rebellion, ought, when thoroughly settled, to be considered as ordained by God, and to be obeyed by Christian men.<sup>1</sup> Sherlock read,

<sup>1</sup> See Overall's *Convocation Book*, Chapter 28. Nothing can be clearer or more to the purpose than his language:

"When, having attained their ungodly desires, whether ambitious kings by bringing any country into their subjection, or

and was convinced. His venerable mother the Church had spoken ; and he, with the docility of a child, accepted her decree. The government which had sprung from the Revolution might, at least since the battle of the Boyne and the flight of James from Ireland, be fairly called a settled government, and ought, therefore, to be passively obeyed till it should be subverted by another revolution and succeeded by another settled government.

Sherlock took the oaths, and speedily published, in justification of his conduct, a pamphlet entitled *The Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers* stated. The sensation produced by this work was immense. Dryden's *Hind and Panther* had not raised so great an uproar. Halifax's *Letter to a Dissenter* had not called forth so many answers. The replies to the Doctor, the vindications of the Doctor, the pasquinades on the Doctor, would fill a library. The clamor redoubled

disloyal subjects by rebellious rising against their natural sovereigns, they have established any of the said degenerate governments among their people, the authority either so unjustly established or wrung by force from the true and lawful possessor, being always God's authority, and therefore receiving no impeachment by the wickedness of those that have it, is ever, when such alterations are thoroughly settled, to be revered and obeyed ; and the people of all sorts, as well of the clergy as of the laity, are to be subject unto it, not only for fear, but likewise for conscience' sake."

Then follows the canon :

"If any man shall affirm that, when any such new forms of government, begun by rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is not of God, or that any who live within the territories of any such new governments are not bound to be subject to God's authority which is there executed, but may rebel against the same, he doth greatly err."

when it was known that the convert had not only been reappointed Master of the Temple, but had accepted the Deanery of Saint Paul's, which had become vacant in consequence of the deprivation of Sancroft and the promotion of Tillotson. The rage of the nonjurors amounted almost to frenzy. Was it not enough, they asked, to desert the true and pure Church, in this her hour of sorrow and peril, without also slandering her? It was easy to understand why a greedy, cowardly, hypocrite should refuse to take the oaths to the usurper as long as it seemed probable that the rightful King would be restored, and should make haste to swear after the battle of the Boyne. Such tergiversation in times of civil discord was nothing new. What was new was that the turncoat should attempt to transfer his own guilt and shame to the Church of England, and should proclaim that she had taught him to lift his heel against the weak who were in the right, and to cringe to the powerful who were in the wrong. Had such, indeed, been her doctrine or her practice in evil days? Had she abandoned her Royal Martyr in the prison or on the scaffold? Had she enjoined her children to pay obedience to the Rump or to the Protector? Yet was the government of the Rump or of the Protector less entitled to be called a settled government than the government of William and Mary? Had not the battle of Worcester been as great a blow to the hopes of the House of Stuart as the battle of the Boyne? Had not the chances of a restoration seemed as small in 1657 as they could seem to any judicious man in 1691? In spite of invectives and sarcasms, however, there was Overall's treatise: there were the approving votes of the two Convocations; and it was much easier

to rail at Sherlock than to explain away either the treatise or the votes. One writer maintained that by a thoroughly settled government must have been meant a government of which the title was uncontested. Thus, he said, the government of the United Provinces became a settled government when it was recognized by Spain, and, but for that recognition, would never have been a settled government to the end of time. Another casuist, somewhat less austere, pronounced that a government, wrongful in its origin, might become a settled government after the lapse of a century. On the thirteenth of February, 1789, therefore, and not a day earlier, Englishmen would be at liberty to swear allegiance to a government sprung from the Revolution. The history of the chosen people was ransacked for precedents. Was Eglon's a settled government when Ehud stabbed him? Was Joram's a settled government when Jehu shot him? But the leading case was that of Athaliah. It was indeed a case which furnished the malcontents with many happy and pungent allusions; a kingdom treacherously seized by a usurper near in blood to the throne; the rightful prince long dispossessed; a part of the sacerdotal order true, through many disastrous years, to the Royal House; a counter-revolution at length effected by the High-priest at the head of the Levites. Who, it was asked, would dare to blame the heroic pontiff who had restored the heir of David? Yet was not the government of Athaliah as firmly settled as that of the Prince of Orange? Hundreds of pages written at this time about the rights of Joash and the bold enterprise of Jehoida are mouldering in the ancient bookcases of Oxford and Cambridge.

While Sherlock was thus fiercely attacked by his old friends, he was not left unmolested by his old enemies. Some vehement Whigs, among whom Julian Johnson was conspicuous, declared that Jacobitism itself was respectable when compared with the vile doctrine which had been discovered in the Convocation Book. That passive obedience was due to Kings was doubtless an absurd and pernicious notion. Yet it was impossible not to respect the consistency and fortitude of men who thought themselves bound to bear true allegiance, at all hazards, to an unfortunate, a deposed, an exiled oppressor. But the political creed which Sherlock had learned from Overall was unmixed baseness and wickedness. A cause was to be abandoned, not because it was unjust, but because it was unprosperous. Whether James had been a tyrant or had been the father of his people was, according to this theory, quite immaterial. If he had won the battle of the Boyne we should have been bound as Christians to be his slaves. He had lost it ; and we were bound as Christians to be his foes. Other Whigs congratulated the proselyte on having come, by whatever road, to a right practical conclusion, but could not refrain from sneering at the history which he gave of his conversion. He was, they said, a man of eminent learning and abilities. He had studied the question of allegiance long and deeply. He had written much about it. Several months had been allowed him for reading, prayer, and reflection, before he incurred suspension, several months more before he incurred deprivation. He had formed an opinion for which he had declared himself ready to suffer martyrdom : he had taught that opinion to others ; and he had then



changed that opinion solely because he had discovered that it had been, not refuted, but dogmatically pronounced erroneous by the two Convocations more than eighty years before. Surely, this was to renounce all liberty of private judgment, and to ascribe to the Synods of Canterbury and York an infallibility which the Church of England had declared that even Œcumenical Councils could not justly claim. If, it was sarcastically said, all our notions of right and wrong, in matters of vital importance to the well-being of society, are to be suddenly altered by a few lines of manuscript found in a corner of the library at Lambeth, it is surely much to be wished, for the peace of mind of humble Christians, that all the documents to which this sort of authority belongs may be rummaged out and sent to the press as soon as possible : for, unless this be done, we may all, like the Doctor when he refused the oaths last year, be committing sins in the full persuasion that we are discharging duties. In truth, it is not easy to believe that the Convocation Book furnished Sherlock with anything more than a pretext for doing what he had made up his mind to do. The united forces of reason and interest had doubtless convinced him that his passions and prejudices had led him into a great error. That error he determined to recant; and it cost him less to say that his opinion had been changed by newly discovered evidence, than that he had formed a wrong judgment with all the materials for the forming of a right judgment before him. The popular belief was that his retraction was the effect of the tears, expostulations, and reproaches of his wife. The lady's spirit was high : her authority in the family was great ; and she cared much more about her house and her

carriage, the plenty of her table and the prospects of her children, than about the patriarchal origin of government or the meaning of the word Abdication. She had, it was asserted, given her husband no peace by day or by night till he had got over his scruples. In letters, fables, songs, dialogues, without number, her powers of seduction and intimidation were malignantly extolled. She was Xanthippe pouring water on the head of Socrates. She was Delilah shearing Samson. She was Eve forcing the forbidden fruit into Adam's mouth. She was Job's wife, imploring her ruined lord, who sat scraping himself among the ashes, not to curse and die, but to swear and live. While the ballad-makers celebrated the victory of Mrs. Sherlock, another class of assailants fell on the theological reputation of her spouse. Till he took the oaths, he had always been considered as the most orthodox of divines. But the captious and malignant criticism to which his writings were now subjected would have found heresy in the Sermon on the Mount ; and he, unfortunately, was rash enough to publish, at the very moment when the outcry against his political tergiversation was loudest, his thoughts on the mystery of the Trinity. It is probable that, at another time, his work would have been hailed by good Churchmen as a triumphant answer to the Socinians and Sabellians. But, unhappily, in his zeal against Socinians and Sabellians, he used expressions which might be construed into Tritheism. Candid judges would have remembered that the true path was closely pressed on the right and on the left by error, and that it was scarcely possible to keep far enough from danger on one side without going very close to danger on the other. But candid

judges Sherlock was not likely to find among the Jacobites. His old allies affirmed that he had incurred all the fearful penalties denounced in the Athanasian Creed against those who divide the substance. Bulky quartos were written to prove that he held the existence of three distinct Deities ; and some facetious malcontents, who troubled themselves very little about the Catholic verity, amused the town by lampoons in English and Latin on his heterodoxy. " We," said one of these jesters, " plight our faith to one King, and call one God to attest our promise. We cannot think it strange that there should be more than one King to whom the Doctor has sworn allegiance, when we consider that the Doctor has more Gods than one to swear by." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A list of all the pieces which I have read relating to Sherlock's apostasy would fatigue the reader. I will mention a few of different kinds : Parkinson's *Examination of Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance*, 1691 ; *Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance*, by a London Apprentice, 1691 ; *The Reasons of the New Convert's taking the Oaths to the Present Government*, 1691 ; *Utrum horum ? or God's ways of Disposing of Kingdoms, and some Clergymen's ways of Disposing of them*, 1691 ; *Sherlock and Xanthippe*, 1691 ; *Saint Paul's Triumph in his Sufferings for Christ* ; by Matthew Bryan, LL.D., dedicated *Ecclesiæ sub cruce gementi* ; *A Word to a Wavering Levite* ; *The Trimming Court Divine* ; *Proteus Ecclesiasticus, or Observations on Dr. Sh——'s late Case of Allegiance* ; *The Weasil Uncased* ; *A Whip for the Weasil* ; *The Anti-Weasils*. Numerous allusions to Sherlock and his wife will be found in the ribald writings of Tom Brown, Tom Durfey, and Ned Ward. See the *Life of James*, ii., 318. Several curious letters about Sherlock's apostasy are among the Tanner MSS. I will give two or three specimens of the rhymes which the *Case of Allegiance* called forth :

Sherlock would, perhaps, have doubted whether the government to which he had submitted was entitled to be called a settled government, if he had known all the dangers by which it was threatened. Scarcely had Preston's plot been detected, when a new plot of a very different kind was formed in the camp, in the navy, in the treasury, in the very bed-chamber of the King. This mystery of iniquity has, through five generations, been gradually unveiling, but is not yet entirely unveiled. Some parts which are still obscure may possibly, by the discovery of letters or diaries now reposing under the dust of a century and a half, be made clear to our posterity. The materials, however, which are at pres-

Treachery  
of some of  
William's  
servants.

" When Eve the fruit had tasted,  
She to her husband hasted,  
And chuck'd him on the chin-a.  
Dear Bud, quoth she, come taste this fruit ;  
'T will finely with your palate suit :  
To eat it is no sin-a."

" As moody Job, in shirtless case,  
With collyflowers all o'er his face,  
Did on the dunghill languish,  
His spouse thus whispers in his ear,  
Swear, husband, as you love me, swear :  
'T will ease you of your anguish."

" At first he had doubt, and therefore did pray  
That Heaven would instruct him in the right way,  
Whether Jemmy or William he ought to obey,  
Which nobody can deny.

" The pass at the Boyne determin'd that case :  
And precept to Providence then did give place ;  
To change his opinion he thought no disgrace :  
Which nobody can deny.

" But this with the Scripture can never agree,  
As by Hosea the eighth and the fourth you may see ;  
' They have set up kings, but yet not by me,'  
Which nobody can deny."

ent accessible, are sufficient for the construction of a narrative not to be read without shame and loathing.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that, in the spring of 1690, Shrewsbury, irritated by finding his counsels rejected, and those of his Tory rivals followed, suffered himself, in a fatal hour, to be drawn into a correspondence with the banished family. We have seen also by what cruel sufferings of body and mind he expiated his fault. Tortured by remorse, and by disease the effect of remorse, he had quitted the court: but he had left behind him men whose principles were not less lax than his, and whose hearts were far harder and colder.

Early in 1691, some of these men began to hold secret communications with Saint Germain. Wicked and base as their conduct was, there was in it nothing surprising. They did after their kind. The times were troubled. A thick cloud was upon the future. The most sagacious and experienced statesman could not see with any clearness three months before him. To a man of virtue and honor, indeed, this mattered little. His uncertainty as to what the morrow might bring forth might make him anxious, but could not make him perfidious. Though left in utter darkness as to what concerned his interests, he had the sure guidance of his principles. But, unhappily, men of virtue and honor were not numerous among the courtiers of that age. Whitehall had been, during thirty years, a seminary of every public and private vice, and

<sup>1</sup>The chief authority for this part of my history is the *Life of James*, particularly the highly important and interesting passage which begins at page 444 and ends at page 450 of the second volume. This passage was corrected by the Pretender with his own hand.

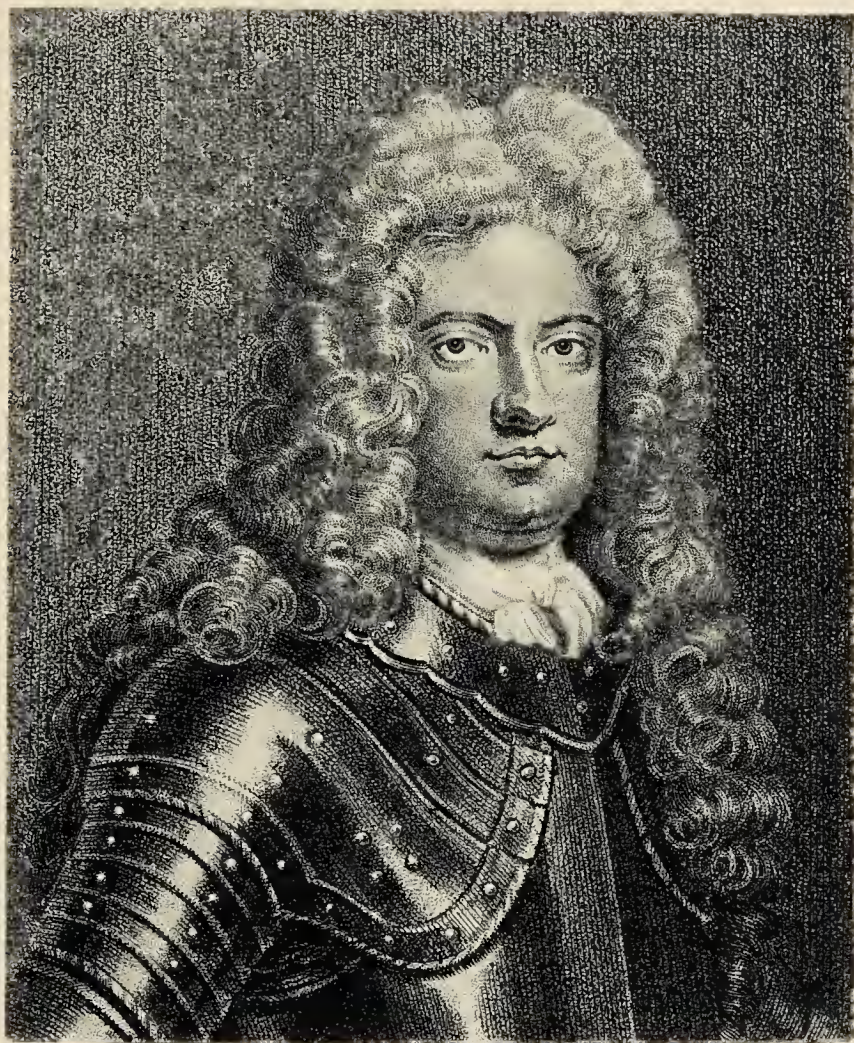


swarmed with low-minded, double-dealing, self-seeking politicians. These politicians now acted as it was natural that men profoundly immoral should act at a crisis of which none could predict the issue. Some of them might have a slight predilection for William ; others a slight predilection for James : but it was not by any such predilection that the conduct of any of the breed was guided. If it had seemed certain that William would stand, they would all have been for William. If it had seemed certain that James would be restored, they would all have been for James. But what was to be done when the chances appeared to be almost exactly balanced ? There were honest men of one party who would have answered, 'To stand by the true King and the true Church, and, if necessary, to die for them like Laud. There were honest men of the other party who would have answered, 'To stand by the liberties of England and the Protestant religion, and, if necessary, to die for them like Sidney. But such consistency was unintelligible to many of the noble and the powerful. Their object was to be safe in every event. They therefore openly took the oath of allegiance to one King, and secretly plighted their word to the other. They were indefatigable in obtaining commissions, patents of peerage, pensions, grants of crown-land, under the great seal of William ; and they had in their secret drawers promises of pardon in the handwriting of James.

Among those who were guilty of this wickedness three men stand pre-eminent—Russell, Godolphin, and Marlborough. No three men could be, in head and heart, more unlike to one another ; and the peculiar qualities of each gave a peculiar character to his vil-

lainy. The treason of Russell is to be attributed partly to fractiousness : the treason of Godolphin is to be attributed altogether to timidity : the treason of Marlborough was the treason of a man of great genius and boundless ambition.

It may be thought strange that Russell should have been out of humor. He had just accepted the command of the united naval forces of England and Holland, with the rank of Admiral of the Fleet. He was Treasurer of the Navy. He had a pension of three thousand pounds a year. Crown property near Charing Cross, to the value of eighteen thousand pounds, had been bestowed on him. His indirect gains must have been immense. But he was still dissatisfied. In truth, with undaunted courage, with considerable talents both for war and for administration, and with a certain public spirit, which showed itself by glimpses even in the very worst parts of his life, he was emphatically a bad man—insolent, malignant, greedy, faithless. He conceived that the great services which he had performed at the time of the Revolution had not been adequately rewarded. Everything that was given to others seemed to him to be pillaged from himself. A letter is still extant which he wrote to William about this time. It is made up of boasts, reproaches, and sneers. The Admiral, with ironical professions of humility and loyalty, asks permission to put his wrongs on paper, because his bashfulness will not suffer him to explain himself by word of mouth. His grievances he represents as intolerable. Other people got large grants of royal domains : but he could get scarcely anything. Other people could provide for their dependents : but his recommendations







were uniformly disregarded. The income which he derived from the royal favor might seem large : but he had poor relations ; and the government, instead of doing its duty by them, had most unhandsomely left them to his care. He had a sister who ought to have a pension ; for, without one, she could not give portions to her daughters. He had a brother who, for want of a place, had been reduced to the melancholy necessity of marrying an old woman for her money. Russell proceeded to complain bitterly that the Whigs were neglected, and that the Revolution had aggrandized and enriched men who had made the greatest efforts to avert it. There is reason to believe that this complaint came from his heart. For, next to his own interests, those of his party were dear to him ; and, even when he was most inclined to become a Jacobite, he never had the smallest disposition to become a Tory. In the temper which this letter indicates, he readily listened to the suggestions of David Lloyd, one of the ablest and most active of the emissaries who at this time were constantly plying between France and England. Lloyd conveyed to James assurances that Russell would, when a favorable opportunity should present itself, try to effect by means of the fleet what Monk had effected in the preceding generation by means of the army.<sup>1</sup> To what extent these assurances were sincere was a question about which men who knew Russell well, and who were minutely informed as to his conduct, were in doubt. It seems probable that, during many months, he did not know his own mind. His interest was to stand well, as long as possible, with both kings. His

<sup>1</sup> Russell to William, May 10, 1691, in Dalrymple's Appendix, Part II., Book VII. See also the *Memoirs of Sir John Leake*.



irritable and imperious nature was constantly impelling him to quarrel with both. His spleen was excited one week by a dry answer from William, and the next week by an absurd proclamation from James. Fortunately the most important day of his life, the day from which all his subsequent years took their color, found him out of temper with the banished tyrant.

Godolphin had not, and did not pretend to have, any cause of complaint against the government which he served. He was First Commissioner of the Treasury. He had been protected, trusted, caressed. Indeed, the favor shown to him had excited many murmurs. Was it fitting, the Whigs had indignantly asked, that a man who had been high in office through the whole of the late reign, who had promised to vote for the Indulgence, who had sat in the Privy Council with a Jesuit, who had sat at the Board of Treasury with two Papists, who had attended an idolatress to her altar, should be among the chief ministers of a Prince whose title to the throne was derived from the Declaration of Right? But on William this clamor had produced no effect; and none of his English servants seems to have had at this time a larger share of his confidence than Godolphin.

Nevertheless, the Jacobites did not despair. One of the most zealous among them, a gentleman named Bulkeley, who had formerly been on terms of intimacy with Godolphin, undertook to see what could be done. He called at the Treasury, and tried to draw the First Lord into political talk. This was no easy matter: for Godolphin was not a man to put himself lightly into the power of others. His reserve was proverbial; and he was especially renowned for the dexterity with

which he, through life, turned conversation away from matters of state to a main of cocks or the pedigree of a race-horse. The visit ended without his uttering a word indicating that he remembered the existence of King James.

Bulkeley, however, was not to be so repulsed. He came again, and introduced the subject which was nearest his heart. Godolphin then asked after his old master and mistress in the mournful tone of a man who despaired of ever being reconciled to them. Bulkeley assured him that King James was ready to forgive all the past. "May I tell His Majesty that you will try to deserve his favor?" At this Godolphin rose, said something about the trammels of office and his wish to be released from them, and put an end to the interview.

Bulkeley soon made a third attempt. By this time Godolphin had learned some things which shook his confidence in the stability of the government which he served. He began to think, as he would himself have expressed it, that he had betted too deep on the Revolution, and that it was time to hedge. Evasions would no longer serve his turn. It was necessary to speak out. He spoke out, and declared himself a devoted servant of King James. "I shall take an early opportunity of resigning my place. But, till then, I am under a tie. I must not betray my trust." To enhance the value of the sacrifice which he proposed to make, he produced a most friendly and confidential letter which he had lately received from William. "You see how entirely the Prince of Orange trusts me. He tells me that he cannot do without me, and that there is no Englishman for whom he has so great a

kindness : but all this weighs nothing with me in comparison of my duty to my lawful King.’’

If the First Lord of the Treasury really had scruples about betraying his trust, those scruples were soon so effectually removed that he very complacently continued, during six years, to eat the bread of one master, while secretly sending professions of attachment and promises of service to another.

The truth is that Godolphin was under the influence of a mind far more powerful and far more depraved than his own. His perplexities had been imparted to Marlborough, to whom he had long been bound by such friendship as two very unprincipled men are capable of feeling for each other, and to whom he was afterward bound by close domestic ties.

Marlborough was in a very different situation from that of William’s other servants. Lloyd might make overtures to Russell, and Bulkeley to Godolphin. But all the agents of the banished court stood aloof from the deserter of Salisbury. That shameful night seemed to have forever separated the false friend from the Prince whom he had ruined. James had, even in the last extremity, when his army was in full retreat, when his whole kingdom had risen against him, declared that he would never pardon Churchill, never, never. By all the Jacobites the name of Churchill was held in peculiar abhorrence ; and, in the prose and verse which came forth daily from their secret presses, a precedence in infamy, among all the many traitors of the age, was assigned to him. In the order of things which had sprung from the Revolution, he was one of the great men of England, high in the state, high in the army. He had been created an

Earl. He had a large share in the military administration. The emoluments, direct and indirect, of the places and commands which he held under the crown were believed at the Dutch Embassy to amount to twelve thousand pounds a year. In the event of a counter-revolution it seemed that he had nothing in prospect but a garret in Holland or a scaffold on Tower Hill. It might, therefore, have been expected that he would serve his new master with fidelity ; not, indeed, with the fidelity of Nottingham, which was the fidelity of conscientiousness, not with the fidelity of Portland, which was the fidelity of affection, but with the not less stubborn fidelity of despair.

Those who thought thus knew but little of Marlborough. Confident in his own powers of deception, he resolved, since the Jacobite agents would not seek him, to seek them. He therefore sent to beg an interview with Colonel Edward Sackville.

Sackville was astonished and not much pleased by the message. He was a sturdy Cavalier of the old school. He had been persecuted in the days of the Popish plot for manfully saying what he thought and what everybody now thinks, about Oates and Bedloe.<sup>1</sup> Since the Revolution he had repeatedly put his neck in peril for King James, had been chased by officers with warrants, and had been designated as a traitor in a proclamation to which Marlborough himself had been a party.<sup>2</sup> It was not without reluctance that the staunch royalist crossed the hated threshold of the deserter. He was repaid for his effort by the edifying

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, March 21, 24, 1679; *Grey's Debates; Observer*.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, July 21, 1690.

spectacle of such an agony of repentance as he had never before seen. "Will you," said Marlborough, "be my intercessor with the King? Will you tell him what I suffer? My crimes now appear to me in their true light; and I shrink with horror from the contemplation. The thought of them is with me day and night. I sit down to table: but I cannot eat. I throw myself on my bed: but I cannot sleep. I am ready to sacrifice everything, to brave everything, to bring utter ruin on my fortunes, if only I may be free from the misery of a wounded spirit." If appearances could be trusted, this great offender was as true a penitent as David or as Peter. Sackville reported to his friends what had passed. They could not but acknowledge that, if the archtraitor, who had hitherto opposed to conscience and to public opinion the same cool and placid hardihood which distinguished him on fields of battle, had really begun to feel remorse, it would be absurd to reject, on account of his unworthiness, the inestimable services which it was in his power to render to the good cause. He sat in the interior council: he held high command in the army: he had been recently intrusted, and would doubtless again be intrusted, with the direction of important military operations. It was true that no man had incurred equal guilt: but it was true also that no man had it in his power to make equal reparation. If he was sincere, he might doubtless earn the pardon which he so much desired. But was he sincere? Had he not been just as loud in professions of loyalty on the very eve of his crime? It was necessary to put him to the test. Several tests were applied by Sackville and Lloyd. Marlborough was required to furnish full information touching the



strength and the distribution of all the divisions of the English army ; and he complied. He was required to disclose the whole plan of the approaching campaign ; and he did so. The Jacobite leaders watched carefully for inaccuracies in his reports, but could find none. It was thought a still stronger proof of his fidelity that he gave valuable intelligence about what was doing in the office of the Secretary of State. A deposition had been sworn against one zealous royalist. A warrant was preparing against another. These intimations saved several of the malcontents from imprisonment, if not from the gallows ; and it was impossible for them not to feel some relenting toward the awakened sinner to whom they owed so much.

He, however, in his secret conversations with his new allies, laid no claim to merit. He did not, he said, ask for confidence. How could he, after the villainies which he had committed against the best of kings, hope ever to be trusted again ? It was enough for a wretch like him to be permitted to make, at the cost of his life, some poor atonement to the gracious master, whom he had indeed basely injured, but whom he had never ceased to love. It was not improbable that, in the summer, he might command the English forces in Flanders. Was it wished that he should bring them over in a body to the French camp ? If such were the royal pleasure, he would undertake that the thing should be done. But, on the whole he, thought that it would be better to wait till the next session of Parliament. And then he hinted at a plan, which he afterward more fully matured, for expelling the usurper by means of the English legislature and the English army. In the meantime he hoped that

James would command Godolphin not to quit the Treasury. A private man could do little for the good cause. One who was the director of the national finances, and the depository of the gravest secrets of state, might render inestimable services.

Marlborough's pretended repentance imposed so completely on those who managed the affairs of James in London that they sent Lloyd to France, with the cheering intelligence that the most depraved of all rebels had been wonderfully transformed into a loyal subject. The tidings filled James with delight and hope. Had he been wise, they would have excited in him only aversion and distrust. It was absurd to imagine that a man really heart-broken by remorse and shame for one act of perfidy would determine to lighten his conscience by committing a second act of perfidy as odious and as disgraceful as the first. The promised atonement was so wicked and base that it never could be made by any man sincerely desirous to atone for past wickedness and baseness. The truth was that, when Marlborough told the Jacobites that his sense of guilt prevented him from swallowing his food by day and taking his rest at night, he was laughing at them. The loss of half a guinea would have done more to spoil his appetite and to disturb his slumbers than all the terrors of an evil conscience. What his offers really proved was that his former crime had sprung, not from an ill-regulated zeal for the interests of his country and his religion, but from a deep and incurable moral disease which had infected the whole man. James, however, partly from dulness and partly from selfishness, could never see any immorality in any action by which he was benefited. To con-

spire against him, to betray him, to violate an oath of allegiance sworn to him, were crimes for which no punishment here or hereafter could be too severe. But to be ungrateful to his enemies, to break faith with his enemies, was not only innocent but laudable. The desertion at Salisbury had been the worst of crimes ; for it had ruined him. A similar desertion in Flanders would be an honorable exploit ; for it might restore him.

The penitent was informed by his Jacobite friends that he was forgiven. The news was most welcome : but something more was necessary to restore his lost peace of mind. Might he hope to have, in the royal handwriting, two lines containing a promise of pardon ? It was not, of course, for his own sake that he asked this. But he was confident that, with such a document in his hands, he could bring back to the right path some persons of great note, who adhered to the usurper only because they imagined that they had no mercy to expect from the legitimate King. They would return to their duty as soon as they saw that even the worst of all criminals had, on his repentance, been generously forgiven. The promise was written, sent, and carefully treasured up. Marlborough had now attained one object, an object which was common to him with Russell and Godolphin. But he had other objects which neither Russell nor Godolphin had ever contemplated. There is, as we shall hereafter see, strong reason to believe that this wise, brave, wicked man was meditating a plan worthy of his fertile intellect and daring spirit, and not less worthy of his deeply corrupted heart ; a plan which, if it had not been frustrated by strange means, would have ruined William

without benefiting James, and would have made the successful traitor master of England and arbiter of Europe.

Thus things stood when, in May, 1691, William, after a short and busy sojourn in England, set out again for the Continent, where the regular campaign was about to open. He took with him Marlborough, whose abilities he justly appreciated, and of whose recent negotiations with Saint Germain's he had not the faintest suspicion. At the Hague several important military and political consultations were held; and, on every occasion, the superiority of the accomplished Englishman was felt by the most distinguished soldiers and statesmen of the United Provinces. Heinsius, long after, used to relate a conversation which took place at this time between William and the Prince of Vaudemont, one of the ablest commanders in the Dutch service. Vaudemont spoke well of several English officers, and among them of Talmash and Mackay, but pronounced Marlborough superior beyond comparison to the rest. "He has every quality of a general. His very look shows it. He cannot fail to achieve something great." "I really believe, cousin," answered the King, "that my Lord will make good everything that you have said of him."

There was still a short interval before the commencement of military operations. William passed that interval in his beloved park at Loo. Marlborough spent two or three days there, and was then despatched to Flanders, with orders to collect all the English forces, to form a camp in the neighborhood of Brussels, and to have everything in readiness for the King's arrival.

And now Marlborough had an opportunity of proving

the sincerity of those professions by which he had obtained from a heart, well described by himself as harder than a marble chimney-piece, the pardon of an offence such as might have moved even a gentle nature to deadly resentment. He received from Saint Germain a message claiming the instant performance of his promise to desert at the head of his troops. He was told that this was the greatest service which he could render to the crown. His word was pledged ; and the gracious master who had forgiven all past errors confidently expected that it would be redeemed. The hypocrite evaded the demand with characteristic dexterity. In the most respectful and affectionate language he excused himself for not immediately obeying the royal commands. The promise which he was required to fulfil had not been quite correctly understood. There had been some misapprehension on the part of the messengers. To carry over a regiment or two would do more harm than good. To carry over a whole army was a business which would require much time and management.<sup>1</sup> While James was murmuring over these apologies, and wishing that he had not been quite so placable, William arrived at the headquarters of the allied forces, and took the chief command.

The military operations in Flanders recommenced early in June and terminated at the close of September.

The campaign of 1691 in Flanders. No important action took place. The two armies marched and countermarched, drew near and receded. During some time they confronted each other with less than a league between them. But neither William nor Luxemburg would fight except at an advantage ; and neither gave the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 449.



other any advantage. Languid as the campaign was, it is on one account remarkable. During more than a century our country had sent no great force to make war by land out of the British Isles. Our aristocracy had, therefore, long ceased to be a military class. The nobles of France, of Germany, of Holland, were generally soldiers. It would probably have been difficult to find in the brilliant circle which surrounded Lewis at Versailles a single Marquess or Viscount of forty who had not been at some battle or siege. But the immense majority of our peers, baronets, and opulent esquires had never served except in the trainbands, and had never borne a part in any military exploit more serious than that of putting down a riot or of keeping a street clear for a procession. The generation which had fought at Edgehill and Lansdowne had nearly passed away. The wars of Charles the Second had been almost entirely maritime. During his reign, therefore, the sea-service had been decidedly more the mode than the land-service ; and repeatedly, when our fleets sailed to encounter the Dutch, such multitudes of men of fashion had gone on board that the parks and the theatres had been left desolate. In 1691, at length, for the first time since Henry the Eighth laid siege to Boulogne, an English army appeared on the Continent under the command of an English king. A camp, which was also a court, was irresistibly attractive to many young patricians full of natural intrepidity, and ambitious of the favor which men of distinguished bravery have always found in the eyes of women. To volunteer for Flanders became the rage among the fine gentlemen who combed their flowing wigs and exchanged their richly perfumed snuffs at the Saint

James's Coffee-house. William's headquarters were enlivened by a crowd of splendid equipages and by a rapid succession of sumptuous banquets. For among the high-born and high-spirited youths who repaired to his standard were some who, though quite willing to face a battery, were not at all disposed to deny themselves the luxuries with which they had been surrounded in Soho Square. In a few months Shadwell brought these valiant fops and epicures on the stage. The town was made merry with the character of a courageous but prodigal and effeminate coxcomb, who is impatient to cross swords with the best men in the French household troops, but who is much dejected by learning that he may find it difficult to have his champagne iced daily during the summer. He carries with him cooks, confectioners, and laundresses, a wagon-load of plate, a wardrobe of laced and embroidered suits, and much rich tent furniture, of which the patterns have been chosen by a committee of fine ladies.<sup>1</sup>

While the hostile armies watched each other in Flanders, hostilities were carried on with somewhat more vigor in other parts of Europe. The French gained some advantages in Catalonia and in Piedmont. Their Turkish allies, who in the east menaced the dominions of the Emperor, were defeated by Lewis of Baden in a great battle. But nowhere were the events of the summer so important as in Ireland.

From October, 1690, till May, 1691, no military

<sup>1</sup> The description of this young hero in the list of the Dramatis Personæ is amusing: "Sir Nicholas Dainty, a most conceited fantastic Beau, of drolling, affected Speech; a very Coxcomb, but stout; a most luxurious effeminate Volunteer."

operation on a large scale was attempted in that kingdom. The area of the island was, during the winter and spring, not unequally divided between the contending races. The whole of Ulster, the greater part of Leinster, and about one third of Munster had submitted to the English. The whole of Connaught, the greater part of Munster, and two or three counties of Leinster were held by the Irish. The tortuous boundary formed by William's garrisons ran in a north-eastern direction from the bay of Castlehaven to Mallow, and then, inclining still farther eastward, proceeded to Cashel. From Cashel the line went to Mullingar, from Mullingar to Longford, and Longford to Cavan, skirted Lough Erne on the west, and met the ocean again at Ballyshannon.<sup>1</sup>

On the English side of this pale there was a rude and imperfect order. Two Lords-justices, Coningsby and Porter, assisted by a Privy Council, represented King William at Dublin Castle. Judges, Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace had been appointed ; and assizes were, after a long interval, held in several county towns. The colonists had meanwhile been formed into a strong militia, under the command of officers who had commissions from the crown. The trainbands of the capital consisted of two thousand five hundred foot, two troops of horse, and two troops of dragoons, all Protestants, and all well armed and clad.<sup>2</sup> On the fourth of November, the anniversary of William's birth, and on the fifth, the anniversary of his landing at Torbay, the whole of this

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; Proclamation of February 21, 1691 ; *London Gazette* of March 12.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Continuation*.

force appeared in all the pomp of war. The vanquished and disarmed natives assisted, with suppressed grief and anger, at the triumph of the caste which they had, five months before, oppressed and plundered with impunity. The Lords-justices went in state to Saint Patrick's Cathedral : bells were rung : bonfires were lighted : hogsheads of ale and claret were set abroad in the streets : fireworks were exhibited on College Green : a great company of nobles and public functionaries feasted at the Castle ; and, as the second course came up, the trumpets sounded, and Ulster King at Arms proclaimed, in Latin, French, and English, William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Within the territory where the Saxon race was dominant, trade and industry had already begun to revive. The brazen counters which bore the image and superscription of James gave place to silver. The fugitives who had taken refuge in England came back in multitudes ; and, by their intelligence, diligence, and thrift, the devastation caused by two years of confusion and robbery was soon in part repaired. Merchantmen heavily laden were constantly passing and repassing Saint George's Channel. The receipts of the custom-houses on the eastern coast, from Cork to Londonderry, amounted in six months to sixty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, a sum such as would have been thought extraordinary even in the most prosperous times.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Impartial History* ; *London Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Impartial History*. The year 1684 had been considered as a time of remarkable prosperity, and the revenue from the Customs had been unusually large. But the receipt from

The Irish who remained within the English pale were, one and all, hostile to the English domination. They were, therefore, subject to a rigorous system of police, the natural though lamentable effect of extreme danger and extreme provocation. A Papist was not permitted to have a sword or a gun. He was not permitted to go more than three miles out of his parish except to the market-town on the market-day. Lest he should give information or assistance to his brethren who occupied the western half of the island, he was forbidden to live within ten miles of the frontier. Lest he should turn his house into a place of resort for malcontents, he was forbidden to sell liquor by retail. One proclamation announced that, if the property of any Protestant should be injured by marauders, his loss should be made good at the expense of his Popish neighbors. Another gave notice that, if any Papist who had not been at least three months domiciled in Dublin should be found there, he should be treated as a spy. Not more than five Papists were to assemble in the capital or its neighborhood on any pretext. Without a protection from the government no member of the Church of Rome was safe ; and the government would not grant a protection to any member of the Church of Rome who had a son in the Irish army.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of all precautions and severities, however, the Celt found many opportunities of taking a sly revenge. Houses and barns were frequently burned :

all the ports of Ireland, during the whole year, was only a hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds. See Clarendon's *Memoirs*.

<sup>1</sup> Story's *History and Continuation* ; *London Gazette* of September 29, 1690, and January 8 and March 12, 1691.



soldiers were frequently murdered ; and it was scarcely possible to obtain evidence against the malefactors, who had with them the sympathies of the whole population. On such occasions the government sometimes ventured on acts which seemed better suited to a Turkish than to an English administration. One of these acts became a favorite theme of Jacobite pamphleteers, and was the subject of a serious parliamentary inquiry at Westminster. Six musketeers were found butchered only a few miles from Dublin. The inhabitants of the village where the crime had been committed, men, women, and children, were driven like sheep into the Castle, where the Privy Council was sitting. The heart of one of the assassins, named Gafney, failed him. He consented to be a witness, was examined by the board, acknowledged his guilt, and named some of his accomplices. He was then removed in custody : but a priest obtained access to him during a few minutes. What passed during those few minutes appeared when he was a second time brought before the Council. He had the effrontery to deny that he had owned anything or accused anybody. His hearers, several of whom had taken down his confession in writing, were enraged at his impudence. The Lords-justices broke out : " You are a rogue : you are a villain : you shall be hanged : where is the Provost Marshal ? " The Provost Marshal came. " Take that man," said Coningsby, pointing to Gafney ; " take that man, and hang him." There was no gallows ready : but the carriage of a gun served the purpose ; and the prisoner was instantly tied up, without a trial, without even a written order for the execution ; and this though the courts of law were sitting at

the distance of only a few hundred yards. The English House of Commons, some years later, after a long discussion, resolved, without a division, that the order for the execution of Gafney was arbitrary and illegal, but that Coningsby's fault was so much extenuated by the circumstances in which he was placed that it was not a proper subject for impeachment.<sup>1</sup>

It was not only by the implacable hostility of the Irish that the Saxon of the pale was at this time harassed. His allies caused him almost as much annoyance as his helots. The help of troops from abroad was indeed necessary to him : but it was dearly bought. Even William, in whom the whole civil and military authority was concentrated, had found it difficult to maintain discipline in an army collected from many lands, and composed in great part of mercenaries accustomed to live at free quarter. The powers which had been united in him were now divided and subdivided. The two Lords-justices considered the civil administration as their province, and left the army to the management of Ginkell, who was General-in-chief. Ginkell kept excellent order among the auxiliaries from Holland, who were under his more immediate

<sup>1</sup> See the *Lords' Journals* of March 2 and 4, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and the *Commons' Journals* of Dec. 16, 1693, and Jan. 29, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ . The story, bad enough at best, was told by the personal and political enemies of the Lords-justices with additions which the House of Commons evidently considered as calumnious, and which I really believe to have been so. See the *Gallienus Redivivus*. The narrative which Colonel Robert Fitzgerald, a Privy Counsellor and an eye-witness, delivered in writing to the House of Lords, under the sanction of an oath, seems to me perfectly trustworthy. It is strange that Story, though he mentions the murder of the soldiers, says nothing about Gafney.

command. But his authority over the English and the Danes was less entire ; and unfortunately their pay was, during part of the winter, in arrear. They indemnified themselves by excesses and exactions for the want of that which was their due ; and it was hardly possible to punish men with severity for not choosing to starve with arms in their hands. At length in the spring large supplies of money and stores arrived : arrears were paid up : rations were plentiful ; and a more rigid discipline was enforced. But too many traces of the bad habits which the soldiers had contracted were discernible till the close of the war.<sup>1</sup>

In that part of Ireland, meanwhile, which still acknowledged James as King, there could hardly be said to be any law, any property, or any government. The Roman Catholics of Ulster and Leinster had fled westward by tens of thousands, driving before them a large part of the cattle which had escaped the havoc of two terrible years. The influx of food into the Celtic region, however, was far from keeping pace with the influx of consumers. The necessities of life were scarce. Conveniences to which every plain farmer and burgess in England was accustomed could hardly be procured by nobles and generals. No coin was to be seen except lumps of base metal which were called crowns and shillings. Nominal prices were enormously high. A quart of ale cost two-and-sixpence, a quart of brandy three pounds. The only towns of any note on the western coast were Limerick and Galway ; and the oppression which the shopkeepers of those towns underwent was such that many of them

State of the  
part of Ire-  
land which  
was subject  
to James.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 66 ; Leslie's Answer to King.

stole away with the remains of their stocks to the English territory, where a Papist, though he had to endure much restraint and much humiliation, was allowed to put his own price on his goods, and received that price in silver. Those traders who remained within the unhappy region were ruined. Every warehouse that contained any valuable property was broken open by ruffians who pretended that they were commissioned to procure stores for the public service ; and the owner received, in return for bales of cloth and hogsheads of sugar, some fragments of old kettles and saucepans, which would not in London or Paris have been taken by a beggar. As soon as a merchant-ship arrived in the bay of Galway or in the Shannon, she was boarded by these robbers. The cargo was carried away ; and the proprietor was forced to content himself with such a quantity of cowhides, of wool, and of tallow as the gang which had plundered him chose to give him. The consequence was, that, while foreign commodities were pouring fast into the harbors of Londonderry, Carrickfergus, Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, every mariner avoided Limerick and Galway as nests of pirates.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction between the Irish foot-soldier and the Irish Rapparee had never been very strongly marked. It now disappeared. Great part of the army

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; Fumeron to Louvois,  $\frac{\text{Jan. 31,}}{\text{Feb. 10,}}$  1691. It is to be observed that Kelly, the author of the *Macariæ Excidium*, and Fumeron, the French intendant, are most unexceptionable witnesses. They were both, at this time, within the walls of Limerick. There is no reason to doubt the impartiality of the Frenchman ; and the Irishman was partial to his own countrymen.

was turned loose to live by marauding. An incessant predatory war raged along the line which separated the domain of William from that of James. Every day companies of freebooters, sometimes wrapped in twisted straw which served the purpose of armor, stole into the English territory, burned, sacked, pillaged, and hastened back to their own ground. To guard against these incursions was not easy; for the peasantry of the plundered country had a strong fellow-feeling with the plunderers. To empty the granary, to set fire to the dwelling, to drive away the cows of a heretic, was regarded by every squalid inhabitant of a mud cabin as a good work. A troop engaged in such a work might confidently expect to fall in, notwithstanding all the proclamations of the Lords-justices, with some friend who would indicate the richest booty, the shortest road, and the safest hiding-place. The English complained that it was no easy matter to catch a Rapparee. Sometimes, when he saw danger approaching, he lay down in the long grass of the bog; and then it was as difficult to find him as to find a hare sitting. Sometimes he sprang into a stream, and lay there, like an otter, with only his mouth and nostrils above the water. Nay, a whole gang of banditti would, in the twinkling of an eye, transform itself into a crowd of harmless laborers. Every man took his gun to pieces, hid the lock in his clothes, stuck a cork in the muzzle, stopped the touch-hole with a quill, and threw the weapon into the next pond. Nothing was to be seen but a train of poor rustics who had not so much as a cudgel among them, and whose humble look and crouching walk seemed to show that their spirit was thoroughly broken to slavery. When the peril was



over, when the signal was given, every man flew to the place where he had hid his arms ; and soon the robbers were in full march toward some Protestant mansion. One band penetrated to Clonmel, another to the vicinity of Maryborough : a third made its den in a woody islet of firm ground, surrounded by the vast bog of Allen, harried the county of Wicklow, and alarmed even the suburbs of Dublin. Such expeditions, indeed, were not always successful. Sometimes the plunderers fell in with parties of militia or with detachments from the English garrisons, in situations in which disguise, flight, and resistance were alike impossible. When this happened, every kern who was taken was hanged, without any ceremony, on the nearest tree.<sup>1</sup>

At the headquarters of the Irish army there was, during the winter, no authority capable of exacting obedience even within a circle of a mile.

Dissensions  
among the  
Irish at Lim-  
erick.

Tyrconnel was absent at the Court of France. He had left the supreme government in the hands of a Council of Regency composed of twelve persons. The nominal command of the army he had confided to Berwick : but Berwick, though, as was afterward proved, a man of no common courage and capacity, was young and inexperienced. His powers were unsuspected by the world and by himself<sup>2</sup> ; and he submitted without reluctance to the

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Impartial History and Continuation*, and the *London Gazette* of December, January, February, and March, 1697.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that Avaux, though a very shrewd judge of men, greatly underrated Berwick. In a letter to Louvois dated Oct. 15, 1689, Avaux says : " Je ne puis m'empescher de vous dire qu'il est brave de sa personne, à ce que l'on dit, mais que c'est un aussy mechant officier qu'il y en ayt, et qu'il n'a pas le sens commun."

tutelage of a Council of War nominated by the Lord-lieutenant. Neither the Council of Regency nor the Council of War was popular at Limerick. The Irish complained that men who were not Irish had been intrusted with a large share in the administration. The cry was loudest against an officer named Thomas Maxwell. For it was certain that he was a Scotchman : it was doubtful whether he was a Roman Catholic ; and he had not concealed the dislike which he felt for that Celtic Parliament which had repealed the Act of Settlement and passed the Act of Attainder.<sup>1</sup> The discontent, fomented by the arts of intriguers, among whom the cunning and unprincipled Henry Luttrell seems to have been the most active, soon broke forth into open rebellion. A great meeting was held. Many officers of the army, some peers, some lawyers of high note, and some prelates of the Roman Catholic Church were present. It was resolved that the government set up by the Lord-lieutenant was unknown to the constitution. Ireland, it was said, could be legally governed, in the absence of the King, only by a Lord-lieutenant, by a Lord Deputy, or by Lords-justices. The King was absent. The Lord-lieutenant was absent. There was no Lord Deputy. There were no Lords-justices. The edict by which Tyrconnel had delegated his authority to a junto composed of his creatures was a mere nullity. The nation was therefore left without any legitimate chief, and might, without violating the allegiance due to the crown, make temporary provision for its own safety. A deputation was sent to inform Berwick that he had assumed a power to which he had no right, but that nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> Leslie's Answer to King ; *Macariæ Excidium*.

the army and people of Ireland would willingly acknowledge him as their head if he would consent to govern by the advice of a council truly Irish. Berwick indignantly expressed his wonder that military men should presume to meet and deliberate without the permission of their general. The deputies answered that there was no general, and that, if His Grace did not choose to undertake the administration on the terms proposed, another leader would easily be found. Berwick very reluctantly yielded, and continued to be a puppet in a new set of hands.<sup>1</sup>

Those who had effected this revolution thought it prudent to send a deputation to France for the purpose of vindicating their proceedings. Of this deputation the Roman Catholic Bishop of York and the two Luttrells were members. In the ship which conveyed them from Limerick to Brest they found a fellow-passenger whose presence was by no means agreeable to them—their enemy, Maxwell. They suspected, and not without reason, that he was going, like them, to Saint Germain, but on a very different errand. The truth was that Berwick had sent Maxwell to watch their motions and to traverse their designs. Henry Luttrell, the least scrupulous of men, proposed to settle the matter at once by tossing the Scotchman into the sea. But the Bishop, who was a man of conscience, and Simon Luttrell, who was a man of honor, objected to this expedient.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile at Limerick the supreme power was in abeyance. Berwick, finding that he had no real au-

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*; *Life of James*, ii., 422; *Memoirs of Berwick*.

thority, altogether neglected business, and gave himself up to such pleasures as that dreary place of banishment afforded. There was among the Irish chiefs no man of sufficient weight and ability to control the rest. Sarsfield for a time took the lead. But Sarsfield, though eminently brave and active in the field, was little skilled in the administration of war, and still less skilled in civil business. Those who were most desirous to support his authority were forced to own that his nature was too unsuspicious and indulgent for a post in which it was hardly possible to be too distrustful or too severe. He believed whatever was told him. He signed whatever was set before him. The commissaries, encouraged by his lenity, robbed and embezzled more shamelessly than ever. They sallied forth daily, guarded by pikes and firelocks, to seize, nominally for the public service, but really for themselves, wool, linen, leather, tallow, domestic utensils, instruments of husbandry, searched every pantry, every wardrobe, every cellar, and even laid sacrilegious hands on the property of priests and prelates.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the spring the government, if it is to be so called, of which Berwick was the ostensible head, was dissolved by the return of Tyrconnel. The  
Return of  
Tyrconnel to  
Ireland. Luttrells had, in the name of their countrymen, implored James not to subject so loyal a people to so odious and incapable a viceroy. Tyrconnel, they said, was old : he was infirm : he needed much sleep : he knew nothing of war : he was dilatory : he was partial : he was rapacious : he was distrusted and hated by the whole nation. The Irish, deserted by him, had made a gallant stand, and had compelled

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium.*

the victorious army of the Prince of Orange to retreat. They hoped soon to take the field again, thirty thousand strong ; and they adjured their King to send them some captain worthy to command such a force. Tyrconnel and Maxwell, on the other hand, represented the delegates as mutineers, demagogues, traitors, and pressed James to send Henry Luttrell to keep Mountjoy company in the Bastile. James, bewildered by these criminations and recriminations, hesitated long, and at last, with characteristic wisdom, relieved himself from trouble by giving all the quarrellers fair words, and by sending them all back to have their fight out in Ireland. Berwick was at the same time recalled to France.'

Tyrconnel was received at Limerick, even by his enemies, with decent respect. Much as they hated him, they could not question the validity of his commission ; and, though they still maintained that they had been perfectly justified in annulling, during his absence, the unconstitutional arrangements which he had made, they acknowledged that, when he was present, he was their lawful governor. He was not altogether unprovided with the means of conciliating them. He brought many gracious messages and promises, a patent of peerage for Sarsfield, some money which was not of brass, and some clothing, which was even more acceptable than money. The new garments were not indeed very fine. But even the generals had long been out at elbows ; and there were few of the common men whose habiliments would have been thought sufficient to dress a scarecrow in a more prosperous country. Now, at length, for the first time in

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 422, 423 ; *Mémoires de Berwick*.



many months, every private soldier could boast of a pair of breeches and a pair of brogues. The Lord-lieutenant had also been authorized to announce that he should soon be followed by several ships, laden with provisions and military stores. This announcement was most welcome to the troops, who had long been without bread, and who had nothing stronger than water to drink.<sup>1</sup>

During some weeks the supplies were impatiently expected. At last, Tyrconnel was forced to shut himself up : for, whenever he appeared in public, the soldiers ran after him clamoring for food. Even the beef and mutton, which, half raw, half burned, without vegetables, without salt, had hitherto supported the army, had become scarce ; and the common men were on rations of horse-flesh when the promised sails were seen in the mouth of the Shannon.<sup>2</sup>

A distinguished French general, named Saint Ruth, was on board with his staff. He brought a commission which appointed him commander-in-chief of the Irish army. The commission did not expressly declare that he was to be independent of the vice-regal authority : but he had been assured by James that Tyrconnel should have secret instructions not to intermeddle in the conduct of the war. Saint Ruth was assisted by another general officer named D'Usson. The French ships brought some arms, some ammunition, and a plentiful supply of corn and flour. The spirits of the Irish rose : and

Arrival of a  
French fleet  
at Limerick :  
Saint Ruth.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 433, 451 ; *Story's Continuation*.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 438 ; *Light to the Blind* ; Fumeron to Louvois, <sup>April 22,</sup> May 2, 1691.

a Te Deum was chanted with fervent devotion in the cathedral of Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

Tyrconnel had made no preparations for the approaching campaign. But Saint Ruth, as soon as he had landed, exerted himself strenuously to redeem the time which had been lost. He was a man of courage, activity, and resolution, but of a harsh and imperious nature. In his own country he was celebrated as the most merciless persecutor that had ever dragooned the Huguenots to mass. It was asserted by English Whigs that he was known in France by the nickname of the Hangman; that, at Rome, the very cardinals had shown their abhorrence of his cruelty; and that even Queen Christina, who had little right to be squeamish about bloodshed, had turned away from him with loathing. He had recently held a command in Savoy. The Irish regiments in the French service had formed part of his army, and had behaved extremely well. It was therefore supposed that he had a peculiar talent for managing Irish troops. But there was a wide difference between the well-clad, well-armed, and well-drilled Irish with whom he was familiar, and the ragged marauders whom he found swarming in the alleys of Limerick. Accustomed to the splendor and to the discipline of French camps and garrisons, he was disgusted by finding that, in the country to which he had been sent, a regiment of infantry meant a mob of people as naked, as dirty, and as disorderly as the beggars whom he had been accustomed to see on the Continent besieging the door of a monastery or pursuing a diligence uphill. With ill-

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium; Mémoires de Berwick; Life of James*, ii., 451, 452.

concealed contempt, however, he addressed himself vigorously to the task of disciplining these strange soldiers, and was day and night in the saddle, galloping from post to post, from Limerick to Athlone, from Athlone to the northern extremity of Loughrea, and from Loughrea back to Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

It was indeed necessary that he should bestir himself : for, a few days after his arrival, he learned that, on the other side of the Pale, all was ready for action. The greater part of the English force was collected, before the close of May, in the neighborhood of Mullingar. Ginkell commanded in chief. He had under him the two best officers, after Marlborough, of whom our island could then boast, Talmash and Mackay. 'The Marquess of Ruvigny, the hereditary chief of the refugees,' and elder brother of that brave Caillemot who had fallen at the Boyne, had joined the army with the rank of major-general. The Lord-justice Coningsby, though not by profession a soldier, came down from Dublin, to animate the zeal of the troops. The appearance of the camp showed that the money voted by the English Parliament had not been spared. The uniforms were new : the ranks were one blaze of scarlet ; and the train of artillery was such as had never before been seen in Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

On the sixth of June, Ginkell moved his head-

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; Burnet, ii., 78 ; Dangeau ; the *Mercurius Reformatus*, June 5, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> *An Exact Journal of the Victorious Progress of Their Majesties' Forces under the Command of General Ginckle this Summer in Ireland*, 1691 ; Story's *Continuation* ; Mackay's *Memoirs*.

quarters from Mullingar. On the seventh he reached Ballymore. At Ballymore, on a peninsula almost surrounded by something between a swamp and a lake, stood an ancient fortress, which had recently been fortified under Sarsfield's direction, and which was defended by above a thousand men. The English guns were instantly planted. In a few hours the besiegers had the satisfaction of seeing the besieged running like rabbits from one shelter to another. The governor, who had at first held high language, begged piteously for quarter, and obtained it. The whole garrison was marched off to Dublin. Only eight of the conquerors had fallen.<sup>1</sup>

Fall of Ballymore.

Ginkell passed some days in reconstructing the defences of Ballymore. This work had scarcely been performed when he was joined by the Danish auxiliaries under the command of the Duke of Würtemberg. The whole army then moved westward, and, on the nineteenth of June, appeared before the walls of Athlone.<sup>2</sup>

Athlone was perhaps, in a military point of view, the most important place in the island. Rosen, who understood war well, had always maintained that it was there that the Irishry would, with most advantage, make a stand against the Englishry.<sup>3</sup> The town, which was surrounded by ramparts of earth, lay partly in Leinster and partly in Connaught. The English quarter, which was in

Siege and fall of Athlone.

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, June 18, 22, 1691; Story's *Continuation; Life of James*, ii., 452. The author of the *Life* accuses the Governor of treachery or cowardice.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, June 22, 25, July 2, 1691; Story's *Continuation; Exact Journal*.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 373, 376, 377.

Leinster, had once consisted of new and handsome houses, but had been burned by the Irish some months before, and now lay in heaps of ruins. The Celtic quarter, which was in Connaught, was old and meanly built.<sup>1</sup> The Shannon, which is the boundary of the two provinces, rushed through Athlone in a deep and rapid stream, and turned two large mills which rose on the arches of a stone bridge. Above the bridge, on the Connaught side, a castle, built, it was said, by King John, towered to the height of seventy feet, and extended two hundred feet along the river. Fifty or sixty yards below the bridge was a narrow ford.<sup>2</sup>

During the night of the nineteenth the English placed their cannon. On the morning of the twentieth the firing began. At five in the afternoon an assault was made. A brave French refugee with a grenade in his hand was the first to climb the breach, and fell, cheering his countrymen to the onset with his latest breath. Such were the gallant spirits which

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*. I may observe that this is one of the many passages which lead me to believe the Latin text to be the original. The Latin is, "Oppidum ad Salaminium amnis latus recentibus ac sumptuosioribus ædificiis attollebatur; antiquius et ipsa vetustate incultius quod in Paphiis finibus exstructum erat." The English version is, "The town on Salaminia side was better built than that in Paphia." Surely there is in the Latin the particularity which we might expect from a person who had known Athlone before the war. The English version is contemptibly bad. I need hardly say that the Paphian side is Connaught, and the Salaminian side Leinster.

<sup>2</sup> I have consulted several contemporary maps of Athlone. One will be found in Story's *Continuation*.



the bigotry of Lewis had sent to recruit, in the time of his utmost need, the armies of his deadliest enemies. The example was not lost. The grenades fell thick. The assailants mounted by hundreds. The Irish gave way and ran toward the bridge. There the press was so great that some of the fugitives were crushed to death in the narrow passage, and others were forced over the parapets into the waters which roared among the mill-wheels below. In a few hours Ginkell had made himself master of the English quarter of Athlone ; and this success had cost him only twenty men killed and forty wounded.<sup>1</sup>

But his work was only begun. Between him and the Irish town the Shannon ran fiercely. The bridge was so narrow that a few resolute men might keep it against an army. The mills which stood on it were strongly guarded ; and it was commanded by the guns of the castle. That part of the Connaught shore where the river was fordable was defended by works, which the Lord-lieutenant had, in spite of the murmurs of a powerful party, forced Saint Ruth to intrust to the care of Maxwell. Maxwell had come back from France a more unpopular man than he had been when he went thither. It was rumored that he had, at Versailles, spoken opprobriously of the Irish nation ; and he had, on this account, been, only a few days before, publicly

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the Siege of Athlone*, by an Engineer of the Army, a Witness of the Action, licensed July 11, 1691 ; Story's *Continuation* ; *London Gazette*, July 2, 1691 ; Fumeron to Louvois, June 28,  
July 8, 1691. The account of this attack in the *Life of James*, ii., 453, is an absurd romance. It does not appear to have been taken from the King's original *Memoirs*, nor to have been revised by his son.

affronted by Sarsfield.<sup>1</sup> On the twenty-first of June the English were busied in flinging up batteries along the Leinster bank. On the twenty-second, soon after dawn, the cannonade began. The firing continued all that day and all the following night. When morning broke again, one whole side of the castle had been beaten down: the thatched lanes of the Celtic town lay in ashes; and one of the mills had been burned, with sixty soldiers who had been posted in it.<sup>2</sup>

Still, however, the Irish defended the bridge resolutely. During several days there was sharp fighting hand to hand in the strait passage. The assailants gained ground, but gained it inch by inch. The courage of the garrison was sustained by the hope of speedy succor. Saint Ruth had at length completed his preparations; and the tidings that Athlone was in danger had induced him to take the field in haste at the head of an army, superior in number, though inferior in more important elements of military strength, to the army of Ginkell. The French general seems to

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*. Here again I think that I see clear proof that the English version of this curious work is only a bad translation from the Latin. The English merely says: "Lysander"—Sarsfield—"accused him, a few days before, in the general's presence," without intimating what the accusation was. The Latin original runs thus: "Acrier Lysander, paucos ante dies, coram præfecto copiarum illi exprobraverat nescio quid, quod in aula Syriaca in Cypriorum opprobrium effutivisse dicebatur." The English translator has, by omitting the most important words, and by using the aorist instead of the preter-pluperfect tense, made the whole passage unmeaning.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *Macariæ Excidium*; Daniel Macneal to Sir Arthur Rawdon, June 28, 1691, in the *Rawdon Papers*.

have thought that the bridge and the ford might easily be defended, till the autumnal rains, and the pestilence which ordinarily accompanied them, should compel the enemy to retire. He therefore contented himself with sending successive detachments to re-enforce the garrison. The immediate conduct of the defence he intrusted to his second in command, D'Usson, and fixed his own headquarters two or three miles from the town. He expressed his astonishment that so experienced a commander as Ginkell should persist in a hopeless enterprise. "His master ought to hang him for trying to take Athlone; and mine ought to hang me if I lose it."<sup>1</sup>

Saint Ruth, however, was by no means at ease. He had found, to his great mortification, that he had not the full authority which the promises made to him at Saint Germain had entitled him to expect. The Lord-lieutenant was in the camp. His bodily and mental infirmities had perceptibly increased within the last few weeks. The slow and uncertain step with which he, who had once been renowned for vigor and agility, now tottered from his easy chair to his couch, was no unapt type of the sluggish and wavering movement of that mind which had once pursued its objects with a vehemence restrained neither by fear nor by pity, neither by conscience nor by shame. Yet, with impaired strength, both physical and intellectual, the broken old man clung pertinaciously to power. If he had received private orders not to meddle with the conduct of the war, he disregarded them. He assumed all the authority of a sovereign, showed himself osten-

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, July 6, 1691; *Story's Continuation*; *Macariæ Excidium*; *Light to the Blind*.

tatiously to the troops as their supreme chief, and affected to treat Saint Ruth as a lieutenant. Soon the interference of the Viceroy excited the vehement indignation of that powerful party in the army which had long hated him. Many officers signed an instrument by which they declared that they did not consider him as entitled to their obedience in the field. Some of them offered him gross personal insults. He was told to his face that, if he persisted in remaining where he was not wanted, the ropes of his pavilion should be cut. He, on the other hand, sent his emissaries to all the camp-fires, and tried to make a party among the common soldiers against the French general.<sup>1</sup>

The only thing in which Tyrconnel and Saint Ruth agreed was in dreading and disliking Sarsfield. Not only was he popular with the great body of his countrymen; he was also surrounded by a knot of retainers whose devotion to him resembled the devotion of the Ismailite murderers to the Old Man of the Mountain. It was known that one of these fanatics, a colonel, had used language which, in the mouth of an officer so high in rank, might well cause uneasiness. "The King," this man had said, "is nothing to me. I obey Sarsfield. Let Sarsfield tell me to stab any man in the whole army; and I will do it." Sarsfield was, indeed, too honorable a gentleman to abuse his immense power over the minds of his worshippers. But the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief might not unnaturally be disturbed by the thought that Sarsfield's honor was their only guarantee against mutiny and assassination. The consequence was that, at the crisis of the fate of

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium ; Light to the Blind.*

Ireland, the services of the first of Irish soldiers were not used, or were used with jealous caution, and that, if he ventured to offer a suggestion, it was received with a sneer or a frown.<sup>1</sup>

A great and unexpected disaster put an end to these disputes. On the thirtieth of June Ginkell called a council of war. Forage began to be scarce ; and it was absolutely necessary that the besiegers should either force their way across the river or retreat. The difficulty of effecting a passage over the shattered remains of the bridge seemed almost insuperable. It was proposed to try the ford. The Duke of Würtemberg, Talmash, and Ruvigny gave their voices in favor of this plan ; and Ginkell, with some misgivings, consented.<sup>2</sup>

It was determined that the attempt should be made that very afternoon. The Irish, fancying that the English were about to retreat, kept guard carelessly. Part of the garrison was idling, part dozing. D'Usson was at table. Saint Ruth was in his tent writing a letter to his master filled with charges against Tyrconnel. Meanwhile, fifteen hundred grenadiers, each wearing in his hat a green bough, were mustered on the Leinster bank of the Shannon. Many of them doubtless remembered that on that day year they had, at the command of King William, put green boughs in their hats on the banks of the Boyne. Guineas had been liberally scattered among these picked men : but their alacrity was such as gold cannot purchase. Six battalions were in readiness to support the attack.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 460 ; *Life of William*, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Story's Continuation* ; *Mackay's Memoirs* ; *Exact Journal* ; *Diary of the Siege of Athlone*.



Mackay commanded. He did not approve of the plan : but he executed it as zealously and energetically as if he had himself been the author of it. The Duke of Würtemberg, Talmash, and several other gallant officers, to whom no part in the enterprise had been assigned, insisted on serving that day as private volunteers ; and their appearance in the ranks excited the fiercest enthusiasm among the soldiers.

It was six o'clock. A peal from the steeple of the church gave the signal. Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt, and a brave soldier named Hamilton, whose services were afterward rewarded with the title of Lord Boyne, descended first into the Shannon. Then the grenadiers lifted the Duke of Würtemberg on their shoulders, and, with a great shout, plunged, twenty abreast, up to their cravats in water. The stream ran deep and strong : but in a few minutes the head of the column reached dry land. Talmash was the fifth man that set foot on the Connaught shore. The Irish, taken unprepared, fired one confused volley, and fled, leaving their commander, Maxwell, a prisoner. The conquerors clambered up the bank over the remains of walls shattered by a cannonade of ten days. Mackay heard his men cursing and swearing as they stumbled among the rubbish. " My lads," cried the stout old Puritan in the midst of the uproar, " you are brave fellows : but do not swear. We have more reason to thank God for the goodness which he has shown to us this day than to take his name in vain." The victory was complete. Planks were placed on the broken arches of the bridge, and pontoons laid on the river, without any opposition on the part of the terrified garrison. With the loss of twelve men killed

and about thirty wounded, the English had, in a few minutes, forced their way into Connaught.<sup>1</sup>

At the alarm D'Usson hastened toward the river ; but he was met, swept away, trampled down, and almost killed by the torrent of fugitives.

Retreat of the Irish army. He was carried to the camp in such a

state that it was necessary to bleed him.

“ Taken ! ” cried Saint Ruth, in dismay. “ It cannot be. A town taken, and I close by with an army to relieve it ! ” Cruelly mortified, he struck his tents under cover of the night, and retreated in the direction of Galway. At dawn the English saw far off, from the top of King John's ruined castle, the Irish army moving through the dreary region which separates the Shannon from the Suck. Before noon the rear-guard had disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

Even before the loss of Athlone the Celtic camp had been distracted by factions. It may easily be supposed, therefore, that, after so great a disaster, nothing was to be heard but crimination and recrimination. The enemies of the Lord-lieutenant were more clamorous than ever. He and his creatures had brought the kingdom to the verge of perdition. He would meddle with what he did not understand. He would overrule the plans of men who were real soldiers. He would intrust the most important of all posts to his tool, his spy, the wretched Maxwell, not a born Irishman, not a sincere Catholic, at best a blunderer, and too probably a traitor. Maxwell, it was affirmed, had left his

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation ; Macariæ Excidium* ; Burnet, ii., 78, 79 ; *London Gazette*, July 6, 13, 1689 ; Fumeron to Louvois, June 30, 1690 ; *Diary of the Siege of Athlone ; Exact Account*.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Continuation ; Life of James*, ii., 455 ; Fumeron to Louvois, June 30, July 10, 1691 ; *London Gazette*, July 13.

men unprovided with ammunition. When they had applied to him for powder and ball, he had asked whether they wanted to shoot larks. Just before the attack he had told them to go to their supper and to take their rest, for that nothing more would be done that day. When he had delivered himself up a prisoner, he had uttered some words which seemed to indicate a previous understanding with the conquerors. The Lord-lieutenant's few friends told a very different story. According to them, Tyrconnel and Maxwell had suggested precautions which would have made a surprise impossible. The French General, impatient of all interference, had omitted to take those precautions. Maxwell had been rudely told that, if he was afraid, he had better resign his command. He had done his duty bravely. He had stood, while his men had fled. He had, consequently, fallen into the hands of the enemy ; and he was now, in his absence, slandered by those to whom his captivity was justly imputable.<sup>1</sup> On which side the truth lay, it is not easy, at this distance of time, to pronounce. The cry against Tyrconnel was, at the moment, so loud, that he gave way and sullenly retired to Limerick. D'Usson, who had not yet recovered from the hurts inflicted by his own runaway troops, repaired to Galway.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story, as told by the enemies of Tyrconnel, will be found in the *Macariæ Excidium*, and in a letter written by Felix O'Neill to the Countess of Antrim on the 10th of July, 1691. The letter was found on the corpse of Felix O'Neill after the battle of Aghrim. It is printed in the *Rawdon Papers*. The other story is told in Berwick's *Memoirs* and in the *Light to the Blind*.

<sup>2</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Life of James*, ii., 456 ; *Light to the Blind*.

Saint Ruth, now left in undisputed possession of the supreme command, was bent on trying the chances of a battle. Most of the Irish officers, with Sarsfield at their head, were of a very different mind. It was, they said, not to be dissembled that, in discipline, the army of Ginkell was far superior to theirs. The wise course, therefore, evidently was to carry on the war in such a manner that the difference between the disciplined and the undisciplined soldier might be as small as possible. It was well known that raw recruits often played their parts well in a foray, in a street fight, or in the defence of a rampart; but that, on a pitched field, they had little chance against veterans. "Let most of our foot be collected behind the walls of Limerick and Galway. Let the rest, together with our horse, get in the rear of the enemy, and cut off his supplies. If he advances into Connaught, let us overrun Leinster. If he sits down before Galway, which may well be defended, let us make a push for Dublin, which is altogether defenceless." <sup>1</sup> Saint Ruth might, perhaps, have thought this advice good, if his judgment had not been biassed by his passions. But he was smarting from the pain of a humiliating defeat. In sight of his tent, the English had passed a rapid river, and had stormed a strong town. He could not but feel that, though others might have been to blame, he was not himself blameless. He had, to say the least, taken things too easily. Lewis, accustomed to be served during many years by commanders who were not in the habit of leaving to chance anything which could be made secure by prudence, would hardly think it a sufficient excuse that

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium.*

his general had not expected the enemy to make so bold and sudden an attack. The Lord-lieutenant would, of course, represent what had passed in the most unfavorable manner ; and whatever the Lord-lieutenant said James would echo. A sharp reprimand, a letter of recall, might be expected. To return to Versailles a culprit ; to approach the great King in an agony of distress ; to see him shrug his shoulders, knit his brow, and turn his back ; to be sent, far from courts and camps, to languish at some dull country-seat ; this was too much to be borne ; and yet this might well be apprehended. There was one escape ; to fight, and to conquer or to perish.

In such a temper Saint Ruth pitched his camp about thirty miles from Athlone, on the road to Galway, near the ruined castle of Aghrim, and determined to wait the approach of the English army.

His whole deportment was changed. He had hitherto treated the Irish soldiers with contemptuous severity. But, now that he had resolved to stake life and fame on the valor of the despised race, he became another man. During the few days which remained to him, he exerted himself to win by indulgence and caresses the hearts of all who were under his command.<sup>1</sup> He, at the same time, administered to his troops moral stimulants of the most potent kind. He was a zealous Roman Catholic ; and it is probable that the severity with which he had treated the Protestants of his own country ought to be partly ascribed to the hatred which he felt for their doctrines. He now tried to give to the war the character of a crusade. The clergy were the agents whom he employed to sustain the courage

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*.



of his soldiers. The whole camp was in a ferment with religious excitement. In every regiment priests were praying, preaching, shriving, holding up the host and the cup. While the soldiers swore on the sacramental bread not to abandon their colors, the General addressed to the officers an appeal which might have moved the most languid and effeminate nature to heroic exertion. They were fighting, he said, for their religion, their liberty, and their honor. Unhappy events, too widely celebrated, had brought a reproach on the national character. Irish soldiery was everywhere mentioned with a sneer. If they wished to retrieve the fame of their country, this was the time and this the place.<sup>1</sup>

The spot on which he had determined to bring the fate of Ireland to issue seems to have been chosen with great judgment. His army was drawn up on the slope of a hill, which was almost surrounded by red bog. In front, near the edge of the morass, were some fences out of which a breastwork was without difficulty constructed.

On the eleventh of July, Ginkell, having repaired the fortifications of Athlone, and left a garrison there, fixed his headquarters at Ballinasloe, about four miles from Aghrim, and rode forward to take a view of the Irish position. On his return he gave orders that ammunition should be served out, that every musket and bayonet should be got ready for action, and that early on the morrow every man should be under arms without beat of drum. Two regiments were to remain in charge of the camp : the rest, unencumbered by baggage, were to march against the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 79; Story's *Continuation*.

Soon after six, the next morning, the English were on the way to Aghrim. But some delay was occasioned by a thick fog which hung till noon over the moist valley of the Suck : a further delay was caused by the necessity of dislodging the Irish from some outposts ; and the afternoon was far advanced when the two armies at length confronted each other, with nothing but the bog and the breastwork between them. The English and their allies were under twenty thousand ; the Irish above twenty-five thousand.

Battle of  
Aghrim.

Ginkell held a short consultation with his principal officers. Should he attack instantly, or wait till the next morning ? Mackay was for attacking instantly ; and his opinion prevailed. At five the battle began. The English foot, in such order as they could keep on treacherous and uneven ground, made their way, sinking deep in mud at every step, to the Irish works. But those works were defended with a resolution such as extorted some words of ungracious eulogy even from men who entertained the strongest prejudices against the Celtic race.<sup>1</sup> Again and again the assailants were driven back. Again and again they returned to the struggle. Once they were broken, and chased across the morass : but Talmash rallied them, and forced the pursuers to retire. The fight had lasted two hours : the evening was closing in ; and still the advantage was on the side of the Irish. Gin-

<sup>1</sup> " They maintained their ground much longer than they had been accustomed to do," says Burnet. " They behaved themselves like men of another nation," says Story. " The Irish were never known to fight with more resolution," says the *London Gazette*.

kell began to meditate a retreat. The hopes of Saint Ruth rose high. "The day is ours, my boys," he cried, waving his hat in the air. "We will drive them before us to the walls of Dublin." But fortune was already on the turn. Mackay and Ruvigny, with the English and Huguenot cavalry, had succeeded in passing the bog at a place where two horsemen could scarcely ride abreast. Saint Ruth at first laughed when he saw the Blues, in single file, struggling through the morass under a fire which every moment laid some gallant hat and feather on the earth. "What do they mean?" he asked; and then he swore that it was a pity to see such fine fellows rushing to certain destruction. "Let them cross, however," he said. "The more they are, the more we shall kill." But soon he saw them laying hurdles on the quagmire. A broader and safer path was formed: squadron after squadron reached firm ground: the flank of the Irish army was speedily turned. The French general was hastening to the rescue when a cannon-ball carried off his head. Those who were about him thought that it would be dangerous to make his fate known. His corpse was wrapped in a cloak, carried from the field, and laid, with all secrecy, in the sacred ground among the ruins of the ancient monastery of Loughrea. Till the fight was over, neither army was aware that he was no more. The crisis of the battle had arrived; and there was none to give direction. Sarsfield was in command of the reserve. But he had been strictly enjoined by Saint Ruth not to stir without orders; and no orders came. Mackay and Ruvigny, with their horse, charged the Irish in flank. Talmash and his foot returned to the attack in front with dogged de-

termination. The breastwork was carried. The Irish, still fighting, retreated from enclosure to enclosure. But, as enclosure after enclosure was forced, their efforts became fainter and fainter. At length they broke and fled. Then followed a horrible carnage. The conquerors were in a savage mood. For a report had been spread among them that, during the early part of the battle, some English captives who had been admitted to quarter had been put to the sword. Only four hundred prisoners were taken. The number of the slain was, in proportion to the number engaged, greater than in any other battle of that age. But for the coming on of a moonless night, made darker by a misty rain, scarcely a man would have escaped. The obscurity enabled Sarsfield, with a few squadrons which still remained unbroken, to cover the retreat. Of the conquerors, six hundred were killed, and about a thousand wounded.

The English slept that night on the ground which had been so desperately contested. On the following day they buried their companions in arms, and then marched westward. The vanquished were left unburied, a strange and ghastly spectacle. Four thousand Irish corpses were counted on the field of battle. A hundred and fifty lay in one small enclosure, a hundred and twenty in another. But the slaughter had not been confined to the field of battle. One who was there tells us that, from the top of the hill on which the Celtic camp had been pitched, he saw the country, to the distance of near four miles, white with the naked bodies of the slain. The plain looked, he said, like an immense pasture covered by flocks of sheep. As usual, different estimates were formed even by eye-witnesses.

But it seems probable that the number of the Irish who fell was not less than seven thousand. Soon a multitude of dogs came to feast on the carnage. These beasts became so fierce, and acquired such a taste for human flesh, that it was long dangerous for men to travel that road otherwise than in companies.<sup>1</sup>

The beaten army had now lost all the appearance of an army, and resembled a rabble crowding home from a fair after a faction fight. One great stream of fugitives ran toward Galway, another toward Limerick. The roads to both cities were covered with weapons which had been flung away. Ginkell offered sixpence for every musket. In a short time so many wagon-loads were collected that he reduced the price to two pence ; and still great numbers of muskets came in.<sup>2</sup>

The conquerors marched first against Galway. D'Usson was there, and had under him seven regiments, thinned by the slaughter of Aghrim, and utterly disorganized and disheartened. The last hope of the garrison and of the

Fall of  
Galway.

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; *London Gazette*, July 20, 23, 1691 ; *Mémoires de Berwick* ; *Life of James*, ii., 456 ; Burnet, ii., 79 ; *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Light to the Blind* ; Letter from the English camp to Sir Arthur Rawdon, in the *Rawdon Papers* ; *History of William the Third*, 1702.

The narratives to which I have referred differ very widely from each other. Nor can the difference be ascribed solely or chiefly to partiality. For no two narratives differ more widely than that which will be found in the *Life of James*, and that which will be found in the memoirs of his son.

In consequence, I suppose, of the death of Saint Ruth, and of the absence of D'Usson, there is at the French War-office no despatch containing a detailed account of the battle.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Continuation*.



Roman Catholic inhabitants was that Baldearg O'Donnel, the promised deliverer of their race, would come to the rescue. But Baldearg O'Donnel was not duped by the superstitious veneration of which he was the object. While there had been any doubt about the issue of the conflict between the Englishry and the Irishry, he had stood aloof. On the day of the battle he had remained at a safe distance with his tumultuary army; and, as soon as he had learned that his countrymen had been put to rout, he had fled, plundering and burning all the way, to the mountains of Mayo. Thence he sent to Ginkell offers of submission and service. Ginkell gladly seized the opportunity of breaking up a formidable band of marauders, and of turning to good account the influence which the name of a Celtic dynasty still exercised over the Celtic race. The negotiation, however, was not without difficulties. The wandering adventurer at first demanded nothing less than an earldom. After some haggling he consented to sell the love of a whole people, and his pretensions to regal dignity, for a pension of five hundred pounds a year. Yet the spell which bound his followers to him was not altogether broken. Some enthusiasts from Ulster were willing to fight under the O'Donnel against their own language and their own religion. With a small body of these devoted adherents, he joined a division of the English army, and on several occasions did useful service to William.<sup>1</sup>

When it was known that no succor was to be expected from the hero whose advent had been foretold

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *Macariæ Excidium*; *Life of James*, ii., 464; *London Gazette*, July 30, Aug. 17, 1691; *Light to the Blind*.

by so many seers, the Irish who were shut up in Galway lost all heart. D'Usson had returned a stout answer to the first summons of the besiegers : but he soon saw that resistance was impossible, and made haste to capitulate. The garrison was suffered to retire to Limerick with the honors of war. A full amnesty for past offences was granted to the citizens ; and it was stipulated that, within the walls, the Roman Catholic priests should be allowed to perform in private the rites of their religion. On these terms the gates were thrown open. Ginkell was received with profound respect by the Mayor and Aldermen, and was complimented in a set speech by the Recorder. D'Usson, with about two thousand three hundred men, marched unmolested to Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

At Limerick, the last asylum of the vanquished race, the authority of Tyrconnel was supreme. There was now no general who could pretend that his commission made him independent of the Lord-lieutenant ; nor was the Lord-lieutenant now so unpopular as he had been for a fortnight earlier. Since the battle there had been a reflux of public feeling. No part of that great disaster could be imputed to the Viceroy. His opinion, indeed, had been against trying the chances of a pitched field, and he could with some plausibility assert that the neglect of his counsels had caused the ruin of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Life of James*, ii., 459 ; *London Gazette*, July 30, Aug. 3, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> He held this language in a letter to Lewis XIV., dated the 18<sup>th</sup> of August. This letter, written in a hand which is not easy to decipher, is in the French War-office. *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Light to the Blind*.

He made some preparations for defending Limerick, repaired the fortifications, and sent out parties to bring in provisions. The country, many miles round, was swept bare by these detachments, and a considerable quantity of cattle and fodder was collected within the walls. There was also a large stock of biscuit imported from France. The infantry assembled at Limerick were about fifteen thousand men. The Irish horse and dragoons, three or four thousand in number, were encamped on the Clare side of the Shannon. The communication between their camp and the city was maintained by means of a bridge called the Thomond Bridge, which was protected by a fort. These means of defence were not contemptible. But the fall of Athlone and the slaughter of Aghrim had broken the spirit of the army. A small party, at the head of which were Sarsfield and a brave Scotch officer named Wauchop, cherished a hope that the triumphant progress of Ginkell might be stopped by those walls from which William had, in the preceding year, been forced to retreat. But many of the Irish chiefs loudly declared that it was time to think of capitulating. Henry Luttrell, always fond of dark and crooked politics, opened a secret negotiation with the English. One of his letters was intercepted; and he was put under arrest: but many who blamed his perfidy agreed with him in thinking that it was idle to prolong the contest. Tyrconnel himself was convinced that all was lost. His only hope was that he might be able to prolong the struggle till he could receive from Saint Germain's permission to treat. He wrote to request that permission, and prevailed, with some difficulty, on his desponding countrymen to bind themselves by an oath

not to capitulate till an answer from James should arrive.<sup>1</sup>

A few days after the oath had been administered, Tyrconnel was no more. On the eleventh of August

he dined with D'Usson. The party was gay. The Lord-lieutenant seemed to have  
Death of Tyrconnel.

thrown off the load which had bowed down his body and mind : he drank : he jested : he was again the Dick Talbot who had dined and revelled with Grammont. Soon after he had risen from the table, an apoplectic stroke deprived him of speech and sensation. On the fourteenth he breathed his last. The wasted remains of that form which had once been a model for statuary were laid under the pavement of the Cathedral : but no inscription, no tradition, preserves the memory of the spot.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as the Lord-lieutenant had expired, Plowden, who had superintended the Irish finances while there were any Irish finances to superintend, produced a commission under the great seal of James. This commission appointed Plowden himself, Fitton, and Nagle, Lords-justices in the event of Tyrconnel's death. There was much murmuring when the names were made known. For both Plowden and Fitton were Saxons. The commission, however, proved to be a mere nullity. For it was accompanied by instructions which forbade the Lords-justices to interfere in the conduct of the war ; and, within the narrow space to which the dominions of James were now reduced, war was the

<sup>1</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Life of James*, ii., 461, 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; *Life of James*, ii., 459, 462 ; *London Gazette*, Aug. 31, 1691 ; *Light to the Blind* ; D'Usson and Tessé to Barbesieux, Aug.  $\frac{13}{33}$ .

only business. The government was, therefore, really in the hands of D'Usson and Sarsfield.<sup>1</sup>

On the day on which Tyrconnel died, the advanced guard of the English army came within sight of Limerick. Ginkell encamped on the same ground which William had occupied twelve months before. The batteries, on which were planted guns and bombs, very different from those which William had been forced to use, played day and night ; and soon roofs were blazing and walls crashing in every part of the city. Whole streets were reduced to ashes. Meanwhile several English ships of war came up the Shannon and anchored about a mile below the city.<sup>2</sup>

Still the place held out : the garrison was, in numerical strength, little inferior to the besieging army ; and it seemed not impossible that the defence might be prolonged till the equinoctial rains should a second time compel the English to retire. Ginkell determined on striking a bold stroke. No point in the whole circle of the fortifications was more important, and no point seemed to be more secure, than the Thomond Bridge, which joined the city to the camp of the Irish horse on the Clare bank of the Shannon. The Dutch general's plan was to separate the infantry within the ramparts from the cavalry without ; and this plan he executed with great skill, vigor, and success. He laid a bridge of tin boats on the river, crossed it with a strong body of

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; D'Usson and Tessé to Barbesieux, Aug. 1 $\frac{5}{25}$ , 1691. An unpublished letter from Nagle to Lord Merion of Aug. 15. This letter is quoted by Mr. O'Callaghan in a note on the *Macariæ Excidium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Macariæ Excidium* ; Story's *Continuation*.



troops, drove before him in confusion fifteen hundred dragoons who made a faint show of resistance, and marched toward the quarters of the Irish horse. The Irish horse sustained but ill on this day the reputation which they had gained at the Boyne. Indeed, that reputation had been purchased by the almost entire destruction of the best regiments. Recruits had been without much difficulty found. But the loss of fifteen hundred excellent soldiers was not to be repaired. The camp was abandoned without a blow. Some of the cavalry fled into the city. The rest, driving before them as many cattle as could be collected in that moment of panic, retired to the hills. Much beef, brandy, and harness was found in the magazines; and the marshy plain of the Shannon was covered with firelocks and grenades which the fugitives had thrown away.<sup>1</sup>

The conquerors returned in triumph to their camp. But Ginkell was not content with the advantage which he had gained. He was bent on cutting off all communication between Limerick and the county of Clare. In a few days, therefore, he again crossed the river at the head of several regiments, and attacked the fort which protected the Thomond Bridge. In a short time the fort was stormed. The soldiers who had garrisoned it fled in confusion to the city. The Town Major, a French officer, who commanded at the Thomond Gate, afraid that the pursuers would enter

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *London Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1691; *Life of James*, ii., 463; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*, 1692; *Light to the Blind*. In the account of the siege which is among the archives of the French War-office, it is said that the Irish cavalry behaved worse than the infantry.

with the fugitives, ordered that part of the bridge which was nearest to the city to be drawn up. Many of the Irish went headlong into the stream and perished there. Others cried for quarter, and held up handkerchiefs in token of submission. But the conquerors were mad with rage : their cruelty could not be immediately restrained ; and no prisoners were made till the heaps of corpses rose above the parapets. The garrison of the fort had consisted of about eight hundred men. Of these only a hundred and twenty escaped into Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

This disaster seemed likely to produce a general mutiny in the besieged city. The Irish clamored for the blood of the Town Major, who had ordered the bridge to be drawn up in the face of their flying countrymen. His superiors were forced to promise that he should be brought before a court-martial. Happily for him, he had received a mortal wound, in the act of closing the Thomond Gate, and was

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; *Macariæ Excidium* ; R. Douglas to Sir A. Rawdon, Sept. 28, 1691, in the *Rawdon Papers* ; *London Gazette*, Oct. 8 ; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick* ; *Light to the Blind* ; Account of the Siege of Limerick in the archives of the French War-office.

The account of this affair in the *Life of James*, ii., 464, deserves to be noticed merely for its pre-eminent absurdity. The writer tells us that seven hundred of the Irish held out some time against a much larger force, and warmly praises their heroism. He did not know, or did not choose to mention, one fact which is essential to the right understanding of the story ; namely, that these seven hundred men were in a fort. That a garrison should defend a fort during a few hours against superior numbers is surely not strange. Forts are built because they can be defended by few against many.

saved by a soldier's death from the fury of the multitude.<sup>1</sup>

The cry for capitulation became so loud and importunate that the generals could not resist it. D'Usson informed his government that the fight at the bridge had so effectually cowed the garrison that it was impossible to continue the struggle.<sup>2</sup> Some exception may perhaps be taken to the evidence of D'Usson : for undoubtedly he, like every other Frenchman who had held any command in the Irish army, was weary of his banishment, and impatient to see his country again. But it is certain that even Sarsfield had lost heart. Up to this time his voice had been for stubborn resistance. He was now not only willing, but impatient to treat.<sup>3</sup> It seemed to him that the city was doomed. There was no hope of succor, domestic or foreign. In every part of Ireland the Saxons had set their feet on the necks of the natives. Sligo had fallen. Even those wild islands which intercept the huge waves of the Atlantic from the bay of Galway had acknowledged the authority of William. The men of Kerry, reputed the fiercest and most ungovernable part of the aboriginal population, had held out long, but had at length been routed, and chased to their woods and mountains.<sup>4</sup> A French fleet, if a French fleet were now to arrive on the coast of Munster, would find the mouth of the Shannon guarded by English men-of-war. The stock of provisions within

<sup>1</sup> Account of the Siege of Limerick in the archives of the French War-office; Story's *Continuation*.

<sup>2</sup> D'Usson to Barbesieux, Oct. <sup>4</sup>/<sub>11</sub>, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> *Macariæ Excidium*.

<sup>4</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*.









Limerick was already running low. If the siege were prolonged, the town would, in all human probability, be reduced either by force or by blockade. And if Ginkell should enter through the breach, or should be implored by a multitude perishing with hunger to dictate his own terms, what could be expected but a tyranny more inexorably severe than that of Cromwell? Would it not then be wise to try what conditions could be obtained while the victors had still something to fear from the rage and despair of the vanquished; while the last Irish army could still make some show of resistance behind the walls of the last Irish fortress?

On the evening of the day which followed the fight at the Thomond Gate, the drums of Limerick beat a parley; and Wauchop, from one of the towers, hailed the besiegers, and requested Ruvigny to grant Sarsfield an interview. The brave Frenchman who was an exile on account of his attachment to one religion, and the brave Irishman who was about to become an exile on account of his attachment to another, met and conferred, doubtless with mutual sympathy and respect.<sup>1</sup> Ginkell, to whom Ruvigny reported what had passed, willingly consented to an armistice. For, constant as his success had been, it had not made him secure. The chances were greatly on his side. Yet it was possible that an attempt to storm the city might fail, as a similar attempt had failed twelve months before. If the siege should be turned into a blockade, it was probable that the pestilence which

Negotiations  
between the  
Irish chiefs  
and the be-  
siegers.

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, Oct. 8, 1691; *Story's Continuation*; *Diary of the Siege of Limerick*.

had been fatal to the army of Schomberg, which had compelled William to retreat, and which had all but prevailed even against the genius and energy of Marlborough, might soon avenge the carnage of Aghrim. The rains had lately been heavy. The whole plain might shortly be an immense pool of stagnant water. It might be necessary to move the troops to a healthier situation than the bank of the Shannon, and to provide for them a warmer shelter than that of tents. The enemy would be safe till the spring. In the spring a French army might land in Ireland: the natives might again rise in arms from Donegal to Kerry; and the war, which was now all but extinguished, might blaze forth fiercer than ever.

A negotiation was therefore opened, with a sincere desire on both sides to put an end to the contest. The chiefs of the Irish army held several consultations, at which some Roman Catholic prelates and some eminent lawyers were invited to assist. A preliminary question, which perplexed tender consciences, was submitted to the Bishops. The late Lord-lieutenant had persuaded the officers of the garrison to swear that they would not surrender Limerick till they should receive an answer to the letter in which their situation had been explained to James. The Bishops thought that the oath was no longer binding. It had been taken at a time when the communications with France were open, and in the full belief that the answer of James would arrive within three weeks. More than twice that time had elapsed. Every avenue leading to the city was strictly guarded by the enemy. His Majesty's faithful subjects, by holding out till it had become impossible

for him to signify his pleasure to them, had acted up to the spirit of their promise.<sup>1</sup>

The next question was what terms should be demanded. A paper, containing propositions which statesmen of our age will think reasonable, but which to the most humane and liberal English Protestants of the seventeenth century appeared extravagant, was sent to the camp of the besiegers. What was asked was that all offences should be covered with oblivion, that perfect freedom of worship should be allowed to the native population, that every parish should have its Roman Catholic priest, and that Irish Roman Catholics should be capable of holding all offices, civil and military, and of enjoying all municipal privileges.<sup>2</sup>

Ginkell knew little of the laws and feelings of the English ; but he had about him persons who were competent to direct him. They had a week before prevented him from breaking a Rapparee on the wheel ; and they now suggested an answer to the propositions of the enemy. " I am a stranger here," said Ginkell : " I am ignorant of the constitution of these kingdoms : but I am assured that what you ask is inconsistent with that constitution ; and therefore I cannot with honor consent." He immediately ordered a new battery to be thrown up, and guns and mortars to be planted on it. But his preparations were speedily interrupted by another message from the city. The Irish begged that, since he could not grant what they had demanded, he would tell them on what terms he was willing to treat. He called his advisers round him, and, after some consultation, sent back a paper containing the heads of a treaty such as he had reason to believe that

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, 464, 465.  
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<sup>2</sup> *Story's Continuation*.

the government which he served would approve. What he offered was indeed much less than what the Irish desired, but was quite as much as, when they considered their situation and the temper of the English nation, they could expect. They speedily notified their assent. It was agreed that there should be a cessation of arms, not only by land, but in the ports and bays of Munster, and that a fleet of French transports should be suffered to come up the Shannon in peace and to depart in peace. The signing of the treaty was deferred till the Lords-justices, who represented William at Dublin, should arrive at Ginkell's quarters. But there was during some days a relaxation of military vigilance on both sides. Prisoners were set at liberty. The outposts of the two armies chatted and messed together. The English officers rambled into the town. The Irish officers dined in the camp. Anecdotes of what passed at the friendly meetings of these men, who had so lately been mortal enemies, were widely circulated. One story in particular, was repeated in every part of Europe. "Has not this last campaign," said Sarsfield to some English officers, "raised your opinion of Irish soldiers?" "To tell you the truth," answered the Englishman, "we think of them much as we always did." "However meanly you may think of us," replied Sarsfield, "change kings with us, and we will willingly try our luck with you again." He was doubtless thinking of the day on which he had seen the two sovereigns at the head of two great armies, William foremost in the charge, and James foremost in the flight.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation ; Diary of the Siege of Lymerick ;* Burnet, ii., 81 ; *London Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1691.

On the first of October, Coningsby and Porter arrived at the English headquarters. On the second the articles of capitulation were discussed at great length and definitively settled. On the third they were signed. They were divided into two parts, a military treaty and a civil treaty. The former was subscribed only by the generals on both sides. The Lords-justices set their names to the latter.<sup>1</sup>

By the military treaty it was agreed that such Irish officers and soldiers as should declare that they wished to go to France should be conveyed thither, and should, in the meantime, remain under the command of their own generals. Ginkell undertook to furnish a considerable number of transports. French vessels were also to be permitted to pass and repass freely between Brittany and Munster. Part of Limerick was to be immediately delivered up to the English. But the island on which the Cathedral and the Castle stand was to remain, for the present, in the keeping of the Irish.

The terms of the civil treaty were very different from those which Ginkell had sternly refused to grant. It was not stipulated that the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be competent to hold any political or military office, or that they should be admitted into any corporation. But they obtained a promise that they should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second.

To all the inhabitants of Limerick, and to all officers

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation; Diary of the Siege of Lymerick; London Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1691.



and soldiers in the Jacobite army, who should submit to the government and notify their submission by taking the oath of allegiance, an entire amnesty was promised. They were to retain their property : they were to be allowed to exercise any profession which they had exercised before the troubles : they were not to be punished for any treason, felony, or misdemeanor committed since the accession of the late King : nay, they were not to be sued for damages on account of any act of spoliation or outrage which they might have committed during the three years of confusion. This was more than the Lords-justices were constitutionally competent to grant. It was therefore added that the government would use its utmost endeavors to obtain a Parliamentary ratification of the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the two instruments had been signed, the English entered the city, and occupied one quarter of it. A narrow but deep branch of the Shannon separated them from the quarter which was still in the possession of the Irish.<sup>2</sup>

In a few hours a dispute arose which seemed likely to produce a renewal of hostilities. Sarsfield had resolved to seek his fortune in the service of France, and was naturally desirous to carry with him to the Continent such a body of troops as would be an important addition to the army of Lewis. Ginkell was as naturally unwilling to send thousands of men to swell the forces of the enemy. Both generals appealed to the treaty. Each construed it as suited his purpose, and each complained that the other had violated it. Sarsfield was accused of putting one

<sup>1</sup> The articles of the civil treaty have often been reprinted.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Continuation ; Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*.

of his officers under arrest for refusing to go to the Continent. Ginkell, greatly excited, declared that he would teach the Irish to play tricks with him, and began to make preparations for a cannonade. Sarsfield came to the English camp, and tried to justify what he had done. The altercation was sharp. "I submit," said Sarsfield, at last: "I am in your power." "Not at all in my power," said Ginkell; "go back and do your worst." The imprisoned officer was liberated: a sanguinary contest was averted; and the two commanders contented themselves with a war of words.<sup>1</sup> Ginkell put forth proclamations assuring the Irish that, if they would live quietly in their own land, they should be protected and favored, and that, if they preferred a military life, they should be admitted into the service of King William. It was added that no man, who chose to reject this gracious invitation and to become a soldier of Lewis, must expect ever again to set foot on the island. Sarsfield and Wauchop exerted their eloquence on the other side. The present aspect of affairs, they said, was doubtless gloomy: but there was bright sky beyond the cloud. The banishment would be short. The return would be triumphant. Within a year the French would invade England. In such an invasion the Irish troops, if only they remained unbroken, would assuredly bear a chief part. In the meantime it was far better for them to live in a neighboring and friendly country, under the parental care of their own rightful King, than to trust the Prince of Orange, who would probably send them to the other end of the world to fight for his ally the Emperor against the Janizaries.

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*.

The help of the Roman Catholic clergy was called in. On the day on which those who had made up their

The Irish troops required to make their election between their country and France.

minds to go to France were required to announce their determination, the priests were indefatigable in exhorting. At the head of every regiment a sermon was preached on the duty of adhering to the cause of the Church, and on the sin and danger of consorting with unbelievers.<sup>1</sup> Whoever, it was said, should enter the service of the usurpers would do so at the peril of his soul. The heretics affirmed that, after the peroration, a plentiful allowance of brandy was served out to the audience, and that, when the brandy had been swallowed, a Bishop pronounced a benediction. Thus duly prepared by physical and moral stimulants, the garrison, consisting of about fourteen thousand infantry, was drawn up in the vast meadow which lay on the Clare bank of the Shannon. Here copies of Ginkell's proclamation were profusely scattered about ; and the English officers went through the ranks imploring the men not to ruin themselves, and explaining to them the advantages which the soldiers of King William enjoyed. At length the decisive moment came. The troops were ordered to pass in review. Those who wished to remain in Ireland were directed to file off at a particular spot. All who passed that spot were to be considered as having made their choice for France. Sarsfield and Wauchop on one side, Porter, Coningsby, and Ginkell on the other, looked

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*. His narrative is confirmed by the testimony which an Irish Captain who was present has left us in bad Latin. "Hic apud sacrum omnes advertizantur a capellanis ire potius in Galliam."

on with painful anxiety. D'Usson and his countrymen, though not interested in the spectacle, found it hard to preserve their gravity. The confusion, the clamor, the grotesque appearance of an army in which there could scarcely be seen a shirt or a pair of pantaloons, a shoe or a stocking, presented so ludicrous a contrast to the orderly and brilliant appearance of their master's troops, that they amused themselves by wondering what the Parisians would say to see such a force mustered on the plain of Grenelle.<sup>1</sup>

First marched what was called the Royal regiment, fourteen hundred strong. All but seven went beyond the fatal point. Ginkell's countenance showed that he was deeply mortified. He was consoled, however, by seeing the next regiment, which consisted of natives of Ulster, turn off to a man. There had arisen, notwithstanding the community of blood, language, and religion, an antipathy between the Celts of Ulster and those of the other three provinces; nor is it improbable that the example and influence of Baldearg O'Donnell may have had some effect on the people of the land which his forefathers had ruled.<sup>2</sup> In most of the regiments there was a division of opinion; but a great majority declared for France. Henry Luttrell was one of those who turned off. He was rewarded for his desertion, and perhaps for other services, with a grant of the large estate of his elder brother Simon, who firmly

Most of the  
Irish troops  
volunteer for  
France.

<sup>1</sup> D'Usson and Tessé to Barbesieux, Oct.  $\frac{7}{17}$ , 1691.

<sup>2</sup> That there was little sympathy between the Celts of Ulster and those of the Southern Provinces is evident from the curious memorial which the agent of Baldearg O'Donnell delivered to Avaux.

adhered to the cause of James, with a pension of five hundred pounds a year from the crown, and with the abhorrence of the Roman Catholic population. After living in wealth, luxury, and infamy during a quarter of a century, Henry Luttrell was murdered while going through Dublin in his sedan chair; and the Irish House of Commons declared that there was reason to suspect that he had fallen by the revenge of the Papists.<sup>1</sup> Eighty years after his death, his grave near Luttrellstown was violated by the descendants of those whom he had betrayed, and his skull was broken to pieces with a pickaxe.<sup>2</sup> The deadly hatred of which he was the object descended to his son and to his grandson; and, unhappily, nothing in the character either of his son or of his grandson tended to mitigate the feeling which the name of Luttrell excited.<sup>3</sup>

When the long procession had closed, it was found that about a thousand men had agreed to enter into

<sup>1</sup> Treasury Letter Book, June 19, 1696; *Journals* of the Irish House of Commons, Nov. 7, 1717.

<sup>2</sup> This I relate on Mr. O'Callaghan's authority. *History of the Irish Brigades*, Note 47.

<sup>3</sup> "There is," Junius wrote eighty years after the capitulation of Limerick, "a certain family in this country on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of the father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successors." Elsewhere he says of the member for Middlesex, "He has degraded even the name of Luttrell." He exclaims, in allusion to the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Mrs. Horton, who was born a Luttrell, "Let Parliamant look to it. A Luttrell shall never succeed to the crown of England." It is certain that very few Englishmen can have sympathized with Junius's abhorrence of the Luttrells, or can even have



William's service. About two thousand accepted passes from Ginkell, and went quietly home. About eleven thousand returned with Sarsfield to the city. A few hours after the garrison had passed in review, the horse, who were encamped some miles from the town, were required to make their choice ; and most of them volunteered for France.<sup>1</sup>

Sarsfield considered the troops who remained with him as under an irrevocable obligation to go abroad ;

and, lest they should be tempted to retract their consent, he confined them within the ramparts, and ordered the gates to be shut and strongly guarded. Ginkell, though in

his vexation he muttered some threats, seems to have felt that he could not justifiably interfere. But the precautions of the Irish general were far from being completely successful. It was by no means strange that a superstitious and excitable kern, with a sermon and a dram in his head, should be ready to promise whatever his priests required : neither was it strange that, when he had slept off his liquor, and when anathemas were no longer ringing in his ears, he should feel painful misgivings. He had bound himself to go into exile, perhaps for life, beyond that dreary expanse of waters which impressed his rude mind with mysterious terror. His thoughts ran on all

understood it. Why then did he use expressions which to the great majority of his readers must have been unintelligible? My answer is that Philip Francis was born, and passed the first ten years of his life, within a walk of Luttrellstown.

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; *London Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1691 ; D'Usson and Tessé to Lewis, Oct. 14, and to Barbesieux, Oct. 17 ; *Light to the Blind*.

that he was to leave, on the well-known peat-stack and potato ground, and on the mud cabin, which, humble as it was, was still his home. He was never again to see the familiar faces round the turf fire, or to hear the familiar notes of the old Celtic songs. The ocean was to roll between him and the dwelling of his gray-headed parents and his blooming sweetheart. There were some who, unable to bear the misery of such a separation, and finding it impossible to pass the sentinels who watched the gates, sprang into the river and gained the opposite bank. The number of these daring swimmers, however, was not great; and the army would probably have been transported almost entire if it had remained at Limerick till the day of embarkation. But many of the vessels in which the voyage was to be performed lay at Cork; and it was necessary that Sarsfield should proceed thither with some of his best regiments. It was a march of not less than four days through a wild country. To prevent agile youths, familiar with all the shifts of a vagrant and predatory life, from stealing off to the bogs and woods under cover of the night, was impossible. Indeed, many soldiers had the audacity to run away by broad daylight before they were out of sight of Limerick Cathedral. The Royal regiment, which had, on the day of the review, set so striking an example of fidelity to the cause of James, dwindled from fourteen hundred men to five hundred. Before the last ships departed, news came that those who had sailed by the first ships had been ungraciously received at Brest. They had been scantily fed: they had been able to obtain neither pay nor clothing: though winter was setting in, they slept in the fields, with no covering but the hedges; and

many had been heard to say that it would have been far better to die in old Ireland than to live in the inhospitable country to which they had been banished. The effect of these reports was that hundreds, who had long persisted in their intention of emigrating, refused at the last moment to go on board, threw down their arms, and returned to their native villages.<sup>1</sup>

Sarsfield perceived that one chief cause of the desertion which was thinning his army was the natural unwillingness of the men to leave their families

The last division of the Irish army sails from Cork for France.

in a state of destitution. Cork and the neighboring villages were filled with the kindred of those who were going abroad. Great numbers of women, many of them leading, carrying, suckling their infants, covered all the roads which led to the place of embarkation. The Irish general, apprehensive of the effect which the entreaties and lamentations of these poor creatures could not fail to produce, put forth a proclamation, in which he assured his soldiers that they should be permitted to carry their wives and children to France. It would be injurious to the memory of so brave and loyal a gentleman to suppose that when he made this promise he meant to break it. It is much more probable that he had formed an erroneous estimate of the number of those who would demand a passage, and that he found himself, when it was too late to alter his arrangements, unable to keep his word. After the soldiers had embarked, room was found for the families of many. But still there remained on the water-side a great multitude clamoring piteously to be taken on board. As the last boats put off, there was a

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation* ; *London Gazette*, Jan. 4, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

rush into the surf. Some women caught hold of the ropes, were dragged out of their depth, clung till their fingers were cut through, and perished in the waves. The ships began to move. A wild and terrible wail rose from the shore, and excited unwonted compassion in hearts steeled by hatred of the Irish race and of the Romish faith. Even the stern Cromwellian, now at length after a desperate struggle of three years, left the undisputed lord of the blood-stained and devastated island, could not hear unmoved that bitter cry, in which was poured forth all the rage and all the sorrow of a conquered nation.<sup>1</sup>

The sails disappeared. The emaciated and broken-hearted crowd of those whom a stroke more cruel than that of death had made widows and orphans dispersed, to beg their way home through a wasted land, or to lie down and die by the road-side of grief and hunger. The exiles departed, to learn in foreign camps that discipline without which natural courage is of small avail, and to retrieve on distant fields of battle the honor which had been lost by a long series of defeats at home. In Ireland there was peace. The

State of Ire-  
land after the  
war.

domination of the colonists was absolute. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of exhaustion and despair. There were, indeed, outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations. But more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. During that century, two rebellions were raised in Great Britain by the adherents of the House of Stuart. But neither when the elder Pretender summoned his vassals to attend his

<sup>1</sup> Story's *Continuation*; *Macariæ Excidium*, and Mr. O'Callaghan's note; *London Gazette*, Jan. 4, 169½.

coronation at Scone, nor when the younger held his court at Holyrood, was the standard of that House set up in Connaught or Munster. In 1745, indeed, when the Highlanders were marching toward London, the Roman Catholics of Ireland were so quiet that the Lord-lieutenant could, without the smallest risk, send several regiments across Saint George's Channel to re-enforce the army of the Duke of Cumberland. Nor was this submission the effect of content, but of mere stupefaction and brokenness of heart. The iron had entered into the soul. The memory of past defeats, the habit of daily enduring insult and oppression, had cowed the spirit of the unhappy nation. There were, indeed, Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition : but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland, at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a Marshal of France. Another became Prime Minister of Spain. If he had stayed in his native land, he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George the Second, and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George the Third.<sup>1</sup> Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish Counts, Irish Barons, Irish Knights of Saint Lewis and of Saint

<sup>1</sup> Some interesting facts relating to Wall, who was minister of Ferdinand the Sixth and Charles the Third, will be found in the letters of Sir Benjamin Keene and Lord Bristol, published in Coxe's *Memoirs of Spain*.



Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations. These men, the natural chiefs of their race, having been withdrawn, what remained was utterly helpless and passive. A rising of the Irishry against the Englishry was no more to be apprehended than a rising of the women and children against the men.<sup>1</sup>

There were indeed, in those days, fierce disputes between the mother-country and the colony: but in such disputes the aboriginal population had no more interest than the Red Indians in the dispute between Old England and New England about the Stamp Act. The ruling few, even when in mutiny against the government, had no mercy for anything that looked like mutiny on the part of the subject many. None of those Roman patriots, who poniarded Julius Cæsar for aspiring to be a king, would have had the smallest

<sup>1</sup> This is Swift's language, language held not once, but repeatedly and at long intervals. In the Letter on the Sacramental Test, written in 1708, he says: "If we were under any real fear of the Papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid as not to be equally apprehensive with others, since we are likely to be the greater and more immediate sufferers: but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. . . . The common people, without leaders, without discipline or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined." In the Drapier's Sixth Letter, written in 1724, he says: "As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish Papists, who are as inconsiderable, in point of power, as the women and children, or of English Protestants." Again, in the Presbyterians' Plea of

scruple about crucifying a whole school of gladiators for attempting to escape from the most odious and degrading of all kinds of servitude. None of those Virginian patriots, who vindicated their separation from the British empire by proclaiming it to be a self-evident truth that all men were endowed by the Creator with an unalienable right to liberty, would have had the smallest scruple about shooting any negro slave who had laid claim to that unalienable right. And, in the same manner, the Protestant masters of Ireland, while ostentatiously professing the political doctrines of Locke and Sidney, held that a people who spoke the Celtic tongue and heard mass could have no concern in those doctrines. Molyneux questioned the supremacy of the English legislature. Swift assailed, with the keenest ridicule and invective, every part of the system of government. Lucas disquieted the administration of Lord Harrington. Boyle overthrew the administration of the Duke of Dorset. But neither Molyneux

Merit, written in 1731, he says: "The estates of Papists are very few, crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice, and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted. They all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war. Some of them are already retired into foreign countries: others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely resolved never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition."

I may observe that, to the best of my belief, Swift never, in anything that he wrote, used the word Irishman to denote a person of Anglo-Saxon race born in Ireland. He no more considered himself as an Irishman than an Englishman born at Calcutta considers himself as a Hindoo.

nor Swift, neither Lucas nor Boyle, ever thought of appealing to the native population. They would as soon have thought of appealing to the swine.<sup>1</sup> At a later period Henry Flood excited the dominant class to demand a Parliamentary reform, and to use even revolutionary means for the purpose of obtaining that reform. But neither he, nor those who looked up to him as their chief, and who went close to the verge of treason at his bidding, would consent to admit the subject class to the smallest share of political power. The virtuous and accomplished Charlemont, a Whig of the Whigs, passed a long life in contending for what he called the freedom of his country. But he voted against the law which gave the elective franchise to Roman Catholic freeholders, and he died fixed in the opinion that the Parliament-house ought to be kept pure from Roman Catholic members. Indeed, during the century which followed the Revolution, the inclination of an English Protestant to trample on the Irishry was generally proportioned to the zeal which he professed for political liberty in the abstract. If he uttered any expression of compassion for the majority oppressed by the minority, he might be safely set down as a bigoted Tory and High-Churchman.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1749 Lucas was the idol of the democracy of his own caste. It is curious to see what was thought of him by those who were not of his own caste. One of the chief Pariahs, Charles O'Connor, wrote thus: "I am by no means interested, nor is any of our unfortunate population, in this affair of Lucas. A true patriot would not have betrayed such malice to such unfortunate slaves as we." He adds, with too much truth, that those boasters, the Whigs, wished to have liberty all to themselves.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject Johnson was the most liberal politician of

All this time hatred, kept down by fear, festered in the hearts of the children of the soil. They were still the same people that had sprung to arms in 1641 at the call of O'Neill, and in 1689 at the call of Tyrconnel. To them every festival instituted by the State was a day of mourning, and every trophy set up by the State was a memorial of shame. We have never known, and can but faintly conceive, the feelings of a nation doomed to see constantly in all its public places the monuments of its subjugation. Such monuments everywhere met the eye of the Irish Roman Catholic. In front of the Senate-house of his country, he saw the statue which her conquerors had set up in honor of a memory, glorious, indeed, and immortal, but to him an object of mingled dread and abhorrence. If he entered, he saw the walls tapestried with the most ignominious defeats of his forefathers. At length, after a hundred years of servitude, endured without one struggle for emancipation, the French revolution awakened a wild hope in the bosoms of the oppressed. Men who had inherited all the pretensions and all the passions of the Parliament which James had held at the King's Inns could not hear unmoved of the downfall of a wealthy established Church, of the flight of a splendid aristocracy, of the confiscation of an immense territory. Old antipathies, which had never slumbered, were excited his time. "The Irish," he said, with great warmth, "are in a most unnatural state: for we see there the minority prevailing over the majority." I suspect that Alderman Beckford and Alderman Sawbridge would have been far from sympathizing with him. Charles O'Connor, whose unfavorable opinion of the Whig Lucas I have quoted, pays, in the Preface to the *Dissertations on Irish History*, a high compliment to the liberality of the Tory Johnson.

to new and terrible energy by the combination of stimulants which, in any other society, would have counteracted each other. The spirit of Popery and the spirit of Jacobinism, irreconcilable antagonists everywhere else, were for once mingled in an unnatural and portentous union. Their joint influence produced the third and last rising up of the aboriginal population against the colony. The great-grandsons of the soldiers of Galmoy and Sarsfield were opposed to the great-grandsons of the soldiers of Wolseley and Mitchelburn. The Celt again looked impatiently for the sails which were to bring succor from Brest ; and the Saxon was again backed by the whole power of England. Again the victory remained with the well-educated and well-organized minority. But, happily, the vanquished people found protection in a quarter from which they would once have had to expect nothing but implacable severity. By this time the philosophy of the eighteenth century had purified English Whiggism from that deep taint of intolerance which had been contracted during a long and close alliance with the Puritanism of the seventeenth century. Enlightened men had begun to feel that the arguments by which Milton and Locke, Tillotson and Burnet, had vindicated the rights of conscience, might be urged with not less force in favor of the Roman Catholic than in favor of the Independent or the Baptist. The great party which traces its descent through the Exclusionists up to the Roundheads continued, during thirty years, in spite of royal frowns and popular clamors, to demand a share in all the benefits of our free constitution for those Irish Papists whom the Roundheads and the Exclusionists had considered merely as beasts of chase



or as beasts of burden. But it will be for some other historian to relate the vicissitudes of that great conflict, and the late triumph of reason and humanity. Unhappily such a historian will have to relate that the victory won by such exertions and by such sacrifices was immediately followed by disappointment ; that it proved far less easy to eradicate evil passions than to repeal evil laws ; and that, long after every trace of national and religious animosity had been obliterated from the Statute Book, national and religious animosities continued to rankle in the bosoms of millions. May he be able also to relate that wisdom, justice, and time did in Ireland what they had done in Scotland, and that all the races which inhabit the British Isles were at length indissolubly blended into one people !





## CHAPTER XVIII

### WILLIAM AND MARY (*Continued*)

ON the nineteenth of October, 1691, William arrived at Kensington from the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> Three days later he opened the Parliament. The aspect of affairs was, on the whole, cheering. By land there had been gains and losses ; but the balance was in favor of England. Against the fall of Mons might well be set off the taking of Athlone, the victory of Aghrim, the surrender of Limerick, and the pacification of Ireland. At sea there had been no great victory ; but there had been a great display of power and of activity ; and, though many were dissatisfied because more had not been done, none could deny that there had been a change for the better. The ruin caused by the follies and vices of Torrington had been repaired : the fleet had been well equipped ; the rations had been abundant and wholesome ; and the health of the crews had consequently been, for that age, wonderfully good. Russell, who commanded the naval forces of the allies, had in vain offered battle to the French. The white flag,

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1691.





which, in the preceding year, had ranged the Channel unresisted from the Land's End to the Straits of Dover, now, as soon as our top-masts were descried abandoned the open sea, and retired into the depths of the harbor of Brest. The appearance of an English squadron in the estuary of the Shannon had decided the fate of the last fortress which had held out for King James ; and a fleet of merchantmen from the Levant, valued at four millions sterling, had, through dangers which had caused many sleepless nights to the underwriters of Lombard Street, been convoyed safe into the Thames.<sup>1</sup> The Lords and Commons listened with signs of satisfaction to a speech in which the King congratulated them on the event of the war in Ireland, and expressed his confidence that they would continue to support him in the war with France. He told them that a great naval armament would be necessary, and that, in his opinion, the conflict by land could not be effectually maintained with less than sixty-five thousand men.<sup>2</sup>

He was thanked in affectionate terms : the force which he asked was voted ; and large supplies were granted with little difficulty. But, when the Ways and Means were taken into consideration, symptoms of discontent began to appear. Eighteen months before, when the Commons had been employed in settling the

Debates on  
the salaries  
and fees of  
official men.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 78, 79 ; Burchett's *Memoirs of Transactions at Sea ; Journal of the English and Dutch Fleet, in a Letter from an Officer on Board the Lennox, at Torbay*, licensed Aug. 21, 1691. The writer says : " We attribute our health, under God, to the extraordinary care taken in the well-ordering of our provisions, both meat and drink."

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' and Commons' Journals*, Oct. 22, 1691.



Civil List, many members had shown a very natural disposition to complain of the amount of the salaries and fees received by official men. Keen speeches had been made, and, what was much less usual, had been printed: there had been much excitement out-of-doors; but nothing had been done. The subject was now revived. A report made by the Commissioners who had been appointed in the preceding year to examine the public accounts disclosed some facts which excited indignation, and others which raised grave suspicion. The House seemed fully determined to make an extensive reform; and, in truth, nothing could have averted such a reform except the folly and violence of the reformers. That they should have been angry is, indeed, not strange. The enormous gains, direct and indirect, of the servants of the public went on increasing, while the gains of everybody else were diminishing. Rents were falling: trade was languishing: every man who lived either on what his ancestors had left him or on the fruits of his own industry was forced to retrench. The placemen alone thrived amidst the general distress. "Look," cried the incensed squires, "at the Comptroller of the Customs. Ten years ago, he walked, and we rode. Our incomes have been curtailed: his salary has been doubled: we have sold our horses: he has bought them; and now we go on foot and are splashed by his coach-and-six." Lowther vainly endeavored to stand up against the storm. He was heard with little favor by those country gentlemen who had not long before looked up to him as one of their leaders. He had left them: he had become a courtier: he had two good places, one in the Treasury, the other in the household. He had recently received

from the King's own hand a gratuity of two thousand guineas.<sup>1</sup> It seemed perfectly natural that he should defend abuses by which he profited. The taunts and reproaches with which he was assailed were insupportable to his sensitive nature. He lost his head, almost fainted away on the floor of the House, and talked about righting himself in another place.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately no member rose at this conjuncture to propose that the civil establishments of the kingdom should be carefully revised, that sinecures should be abolished, that exorbitant official incomes should be reduced, and that no servant of the State should be allowed to exact, under any pretence, anything beyond his known and lawful remuneration. In this way it would have been possible to diminish the public burdens, and at the same time to increase the efficiency of every public department. But, on this as on many other occasions, those who were loud in clamoring against the prevailing abuses were utterly destitute of the qualities necessary for the work of reform. On the twelfth of December, some foolish man, whose name has not come down to

<sup>1</sup> This appears from a letter written by Lowther, after he became Lord Lonsdale, to his son. A copy of this letter is among the Mackintosh MSS.

<sup>2</sup> See *Commons' Journals*, Dec. 3, 1691; and Grey's *Debates*. It is to be regretted that the Report of the Commissioners of Accounts has not been preserved. Lowther, in his letter to his son, alludes to the badgering of this day with great bitterness. "What man," he asks, "that hath bread to eat, can endure, after having served with all the diligence and application mankind is capable of, and after having given satisfaction to the King, from whom all officers of state derive their authoritie, after acting rightly by all men, to be baited by men who do it to all people in authoritie?"

us, moved that no person employed in any civil office, the Speaker, Judges, and Ambassadors excepted, should receive more than five hundred pounds a year ; and this motion was not only carried, but carried without one dissentient voice.<sup>1</sup> Those who were most interested in opposing it doubtless saw that opposition would, at that moment, only irritate the majority, and reserved themselves for a more favorable time. The more favorable time soon came. No man of common-sense could, when his blood had cooled, remember without shame that he had voted for a resolution which made no distinction between sinecurists and laborious public servants, between clerks employed in copying letters and ministers on whose wisdom and integrity the fate of the nation might depend. The salary of the Doorkeeper of the Excise Office had been, by a scandalous job, raised to five hundred a year. It ought to have been reduced to fifty. On the other hand, the services of a Secretary of State who was well qualified for his post would have been cheap at five thousand. If the resolution of the Commons had been carried into effect, both the salary which ought not to have exceeded fifty pounds, and the salary which might without impropriety have amounted to five thousand, would have been fixed at five hundred. Such absurdity must have shocked even the roughest and plainest fox-hunter in the House. A reaction took place ; and when, after an interval of a few weeks, it was proposed to insert in a bill of supply a clause in conformity with the resolution of the twelfth of December, the Noes were loud : the Speaker was of opinion that they had it : the Ayes did not venture to

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Dec. 12, 1691.

dispute his opinion : the senseless plan which had been approved without a division was rejected without a division ; and the subject was not again mentioned. Thus a grievance so scandalous that none of those who profited by it dared to defend it was perpetuated merely by the imbecility and intemperance of those who attacked it.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the Session the Treaty of Limerick became the subject of a grave and earnest discussion. The

Commons, in the exercise of that supreme power which the English legislature possessed over all the dependencies of England, sent up to the Lords a bill providing that no

Act excluding  
Papists from  
public trust  
in Ireland.

person should sit in the Irish Parliament, should hold any Irish office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, or should practice law or medicine in Ireland, till he had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and subscribed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. The Lords were not more inclined than the Commons to favor the Irish. No peer was disposed to intrust Roman Catholics with political power. Nay, it seems that no peer objected to the principle of the absurd and cruel rule which excluded Roman Catholics from the

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 15, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Baden to the States-general,  $\frac{\text{Jan. 26.}}{\text{Feb. 5.}}$  On the 8th of December, 1797, Mr. John Nicholls, a reformer of much more zeal than wisdom, proposed, in the House of Commons, a resolution framed on the model of the resolution of the 12th of December, 1691. Mr. Pitt justly remarked that the precedent on which Mr. Nicholls relied was of no value, for that the gentlemen who passed the resolution of the 12th of December, 1691, had, in a very short time, discovered and acknowledged their error. The debate is much better given in the *Morning Chronicle* than in the *Parliamentary History*.

liberal professions. But it was thought that this rule, though unobjectionable in principle, would, if adopted without some exceptions, be a breach of a positive compact. Their Lordships called for the Treaty of Limerick, ordered it to be read at the table, and proceeded to consider whether the law framed by the Lower House was consistent with the engagements into which the government had entered. One discrepancy was noticed. It was stipulated, by the second civil article, that every person actually residing in any fortress occupied by an Irish garrison should be permitted, on taking the Oath of Allegiance, to resume any calling which he had exercised before the Revolution. It would beyond all doubt have been a violation of this covenant to require that a lawyer or a physician, who had been within the walls of Limerick during the siege, and who was willing to take the Oath of Allegiance, should also take the Oath of Supremacy and subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation, before he could exercise his profession. Holt was consulted, and was directed to prepare clauses in conformity with the terms of the capitulation.

The bill, as amended by the Chief-justice, was sent back to the Commons. They at first rejected the amendment, and demanded a conference. The conference was granted. Rochester, in the Painted Chamber, delivered to the managers of the Lower House a copy of the Treaty of Limerick, and earnestly represented the importance of preserving the public faith inviolate. This appeal was one which no honest man, though inflamed by national and religious animosity, could resist. The Commons reconsidered the subject, and, after hearing the Treaty read, agreed,



with some slight modifications, to what the Lords had proposed.<sup>1</sup>

The bill became a law. It attracted, at the time, little notice, but was, after the lapse of several generations, the subject of a very acrimonious controversy. Many of us can well remember how strongly the public mind was stirred, in the days of George the Third and George the Fourth, by the question whether Roman Catholics should be permitted to sit in Parliament. It may be doubted whether any dispute has produced stranger perversions of history. The whole past was falsified for the sake of the present. All the great events of three centuries long appeared to us distorted and discolored by a mist sprung from our own theories and our own passions. Some friends of religious liberty, not content with the advantage which they possessed in the fair conflict of reason with reason, weakened their case by maintaining that the law which excluded Irish Roman Catholics from Parliament was inconsistent with the civil Treaty of Limerick. The first article of that Treaty, it was said, guaranteed to the Irish Roman Catholic such privileges in the exercise of his religion as he had enjoyed in the time of Charles the Second. In the time of Charles the Second no test excluded Roman Catholics from the Irish Parliament. Such a test could not, therefore, it was argued, be imposed without a breach of public faith. In the year 1828, especially, this argument was put forward in the House of Commons as if it had been the main strength of a cause which stood in need of no such support. The champions of Protestant ascendancy

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 3 W. & M., c. 2, *Lords' Journals*; *Lords' Journals*, 16 Nov., 1691; *Commons' Journals*, Dec. 1, 5, 9.

were well pleased to see the debate diverted from a political question about which they were in the wrong, to a historical question about which they were in the right. They had no difficulty in proving that the first article, as understood by all the contracting parties, meant only that the Roman Catholic worship should be tolerated as in time past. That article was drawn up by Ginkell; and, just before he drew it up, he had declared that he would rather try the chance of arms than consent that Irish Papists should be capable of holding civil and military offices, of exercising liberal professions, and of becoming members of municipal corporations. How is it possible to believe that he would, of his own accord, have promised that the House of Lords and the House of Commons should be open to men to whom he would not open a guild of skinners or a guild of cordwainers? How, again, is it possible to believe that the English Peers would, while professing the most punctilious respect for public faith, while lecturing the Commons on the duty of observing public faith, while taking counsel with the most learned and upright jurist of the age as to the best mode of maintaining public faith, have committed a flagrant violation of public faith, and that not a single lord should have been so honest or so factious as to protest against an act of monstrous perfidy aggravated by hypocrisy? Or, if we could believe this, how can we believe that no voice would have been raised in any part of the world against such wickedness; that the Court of Saint Germain and the Court of Versailles would have remained profoundly silent; that no Irish exile, no English malcontent, would have uttered a murmur; that not a word of invective or sarcasm on

so inviting a subject would have been found in the whole compass of the Jacobite literature ; and that it would have been reserved for politicians of the nineteenth century to discover that a treaty made in the seventeenth century had, a few weeks after it had been signed, been outrageously violated in the sight of all Europe ? <sup>1</sup>

On the same day on which the Commons read for the first time the bill which subjected Ireland to the absolute dominion of the Protestant minority, they took into consideration another matter of high importance. Throughout the country, but especially in the capital, in the sea-ports, and in the manufacturing towns, the minds of men were greatly excited on the subject of the trade with the East Indies : a fierce paper war had during some time been raging ; and several grave questions, both constitutional and commercial, had been raised, which the legislature only could decide.

It has often been repeated, and ought never to be

<sup>1</sup> The Irish Roman Catholics complained, and with but too much reason, that, at a later period, the Treaty of Limerick was violated ; but those very complaints are admissions that the Statute 3 W. & M., c. 2, was not a violation of the Treaty. Thus the author of *A Light to the Blind*, speaking of the first article, says, " This article, in seven years after, was broken by a Parliament in Ireland summoned by the Prince of Orange, wherein a law was passed for banishing the Catholic bishops, dignitaries, and regular clergy." Surely he never would have written thus, if the article really had, only two months after it was signed, been broken by the English Parliament. The Abbé Mac Geoghegan, too, complains that the Treaty was violated some years after it was made. But, by so complaining, he admits that it was not violated by Stat. 3 W. & M., c. 2.

forgotten, that our polity differs widely from those polities which have, during the last eighty years, been methodically constructed, digested into articles, and ratified by constituent assemblies. It grew up in a rude age. It is not to be found entire in any formal instrument. All along the line which separates the functions of the prince from those of the legislator there was long a disputed territory. Encroachments were perpetually committed, and, if not very outrageous, were often tolerated. Trespass, merely as trespass, was commonly suffered to pass unresented. It was only when the trespass produced some positive damage that the aggrieved party stood on his right, and demanded that the frontier should be set out by metes and bounds, and that the landmarks should thenceforward be punctiliously respected.

Many of the points which had occasioned the most violent disputes between our Sovereigns and their Parliaments had been finally decided by the Bill of Rights. But one question scarcely less important than any of the questions which had been set at rest forever, was still undetermined. Indeed, that question was never, as far as can now be ascertained, even mentioned in the Convention. The King had undoubtedly, by the ancient laws of the realm, large powers for the regulation of trade: but the ablest judge would have found it difficult to say what was the precise extent of those powers. It was universally acknowledged that it belonged to the King to prescribe weights and measures, and to coin money; that no fair or market could be held without authority from him; that no ship could unload in any bay or estuary which he had not declared to be a port. In addition to his undoubted right to grant

special commercial privileges to particular places, he long claimed a right to grant special commercial privileges to particular societies and to particular individuals ; and our ancestors, as usual, did not think it worth their while to dispute this claim, till it produced serious inconvenience. At length, in the reign of Elizabeth, the power of creating monopolies began to be grossly abused ; and, as soon as it began to be grossly abused, it began to be questioned. The Queen wisely declined a conflict with the House of Commons backed by the whole nation. She frankly acknowledged that there was reason for complaint : she cancelled the patents which had excited the public clamors ; and her people, delighted by this concession, and by the gracious manner in which it had been made, did not require from her an express renunciation of the disputed prerogative.

The discontents which her wisdom had appeased were revived by the dishonest and pusillanimous policy which her successor called kingcraft. He readily granted oppressive patents of monopoly. When he needed the help of his Parliament, he as readily annulled them. As soon as the Parliament had ceased to sit, his Great Seal was put to instruments more odious than those which he had recently cancelled. At length that excellent House of Commons which met in 1623 determined to apply a strong remedy to the evil. The King was forced to give his assent to a law which declared monopolies established by royal authority to be null and void. Some exceptions, however, were made, and, unfortunately, were not very clearly defined. It was especially provided that every Society of Merchants which had been instituted for the purpose of carrying



on any trade should retain all legal privileges.<sup>1</sup> The question whether a monopoly granted by the crown to such a society were or were not a legal privilege was left unsettled, and continued to exercise, during many years, the ingenuity of lawyers.<sup>2</sup> The nation, however, relieved at once from a multitude of impositions and vexations which were painfully felt every day at every fireside, was in no humor to dispute the validity of the charters under which a few companies in London traded with distant parts of the world.

Of these companies by far the most important was that which had been, on the last day of the sixteenth century, incorporated by Queen Elizabeth under the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.<sup>3</sup> When this celebrated body began to exist, the Mogul monarchy was at the zenith of power and glory. Akbar, the ablest

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 21 Jac. I, c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly *Two Letters by a Barrister concerning the East India Company* (1676), and an *Answer to the Two Letters* published in the same year. See also the *Judgment of Lord Jeffreys Concerning the Great Case of Monopolies*. This judgment was published in 1688, after the downfall of Jeffreys. It was thought necessary to apologize in the preface for printing anything that bore so odious a name. "To commend this argument," says the editor, "I'll not undertake, because of the author. But yet I may tell you what is told me, that it is worthy any gentleman's perusal." The language of Jeffreys is most offensive, sometimes scurrilous, sometimes basely adulatory; but his reasoning as to the mere point of law is certainly able, if not conclusive.

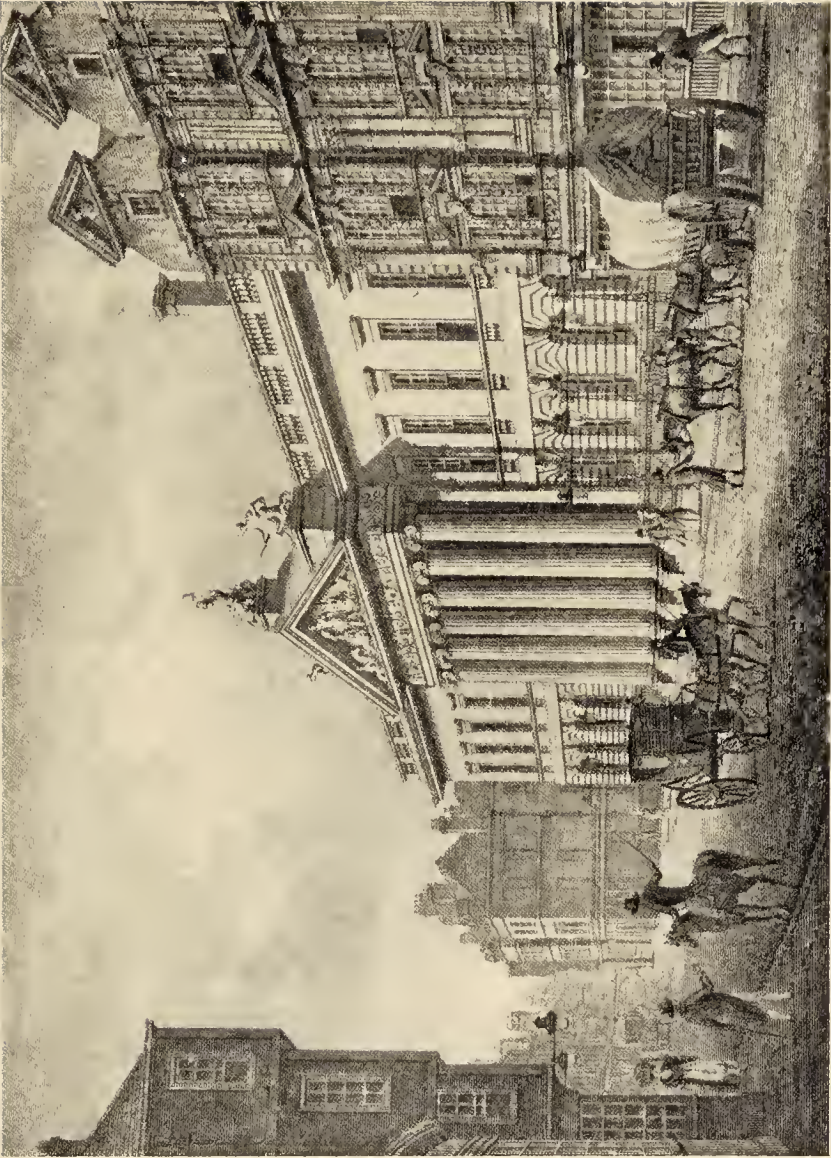
<sup>3</sup> I have left my account of the East India Company as it stood in 1855. It is unnecessary to say that it contains some expressions which would not have been used if it had been written in 1858.

and the best of the princes of the House of Tamerlane, had just been borne, full of years and honors, to a mausoleum surpassing in magnificence any that Europe could show. He had bequeathed to his posterity an empire containing more than twenty times the population, and yielding more than twenty times the revenue, of the England which, under our great Queen, held a foremost place among European powers. It is curious and interesting to consider how little the two countries, destined to be one day so closely connected, were then known to each other. The most enlightened Englishmen looked on India with ignorant admiration. The most enlightened natives of India were scarcely aware that England existed. Our ancestors had a dim notion of endless bazaars, swarming with buyers and sellers, and blazing with cloth of gold, with variegated silks, and with precious stones ; of treasuries where diamonds were piled in heaps, and sequins in mountains ; of palaces, compared with which Whitehall and Hampton Court were hovels ; of armies ten times as numerous as that which they had seen assembled at Tilbury to repel the Armada. On the other hand, it was probably not known to one of the statesmen in the Durbar of Agra that there was, near the setting sun, a great city of infidels, called London, where a woman reigned, and that she had given to an association of Frank merchants the exclusive privilege of freighting ships from her domains to the Indian seas. That this association would one day rule all India, from the ocean to the everlasting snow, would reduce to profound obedience great provinces which had never submitted to Akbar's authority, would send Lieutenant-governors to preside in his capital, and would dole out a monthly pension

to his heir, would have seemed to the wisest of European or of Oriental politicians as impossible as that inhabitants of our globe should found an empire in Venus or Jupiter.

Three generations passed away ; and still nothing indicated that the East India Company would ever become a great Asiatic potentate. The Mogul empire, though undermined by internal causes of decay, and tottering to its fall, still presented to distant nations the appearance of undiminished prosperity and vigor. Aurengzebe, who, in the same month in which Oliver Cromwell died, assumed the magnificent title of Conqueror of the World, continued to reign until Anne had been long on the English throne. He was the sovereign of a larger territory than had obeyed any of his predecessors. His name was great in the farthest regions of the West. Here he had been made by Dryden the hero of a tragedy which would alone suffice to show how little the English of that age knew about the vast empire which their grandchildren were to conquer and to govern. The poet's Mussulman princes make love in the style of Amadis, preach about the death of Socrates, and embellish their discourse with allusions to the mythological stories of Ovid. The Brahminical metempsychosis is represented as an article of the Mussulman creed ; and the Mussulman Sultanas burn themselves with their husbands after the Brahminical fashion. This drama, once rapturously applauded by crowded theatres, and known by heart to fine gentlemen and fine ladies, is now forgotten. But one noble passage still lives, and is repeated by thousands who know not whence it comes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Addison's *Clariuda*, in the week of which she kept a journal,







Though nothing yet indicated the high political destiny of the East India Company, that body had a great sway in the City of London. The offices, built on a very small part of the ground which the present offices cover, had escaped the ravages of the fire. The India House of those days was an edifice of timber and plaster, rich with the quaint carving and lattice-work of the Elizabethan age. Above the windows was a painting which represented a fleet of merchantmen tossing on the waves. The whole was surmounted by a colossal wooden seaman, who, from between two dolphins, looked down on the crowds of Leadenhall Street.<sup>1</sup> In this abode, narrow and humble, indeed, when compared with the vast labyrinth of passages and chambers which now bears the same name, the Company enjoyed, during the greater part of the reign of Charles the Second, a prosperity to which the history of trade scarcely furnishes any parallel, and which excited the wonder, the cupidity, and the envious animosity of the whole capital. Wealth and luxury were then rapidly increasing. The taste for the spices, the tissues, and the jewels of the East became stronger day by day. Tea, which, at the time when Monk brought the army of Scotland to London, had been handed round to be stared at and just touched with the lips, read nothing but Aurengzebe ; *Spectator*, 323. She dreamed that Mr. Froth lay at her feet, and called her Indamora. Her friend Miss Kitty repeated, without book, the eight best lines of the play ; those, no doubt, which begin, "Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay." There are not eight finer lines in *Lucretius*.

<sup>1</sup> A curious engraving of the India House of the seventeenth century will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1784.

as a great rarity from China, was, eight years later, a regular article of import, and was soon consumed in such quantities that financiers began to consider it as an important source of revenue.<sup>1</sup> The progress which was making in the art of war had created an unprecedented demand for the ingredients of which gunpowder is compounded. It was calculated that all Europe would hardly produce in a year saltpetre enough for the siege of one town fortified on the principles of Vauban.<sup>2</sup> But for the supplies from India, it was said, the English government would be unable to equip a fleet without digging up the cellars of London in order to collect the nitrous particles from the walls.<sup>3</sup> Before the Restoration scarcely one ship from the Thames had ever visited the Delta of the Ganges. But, during the twenty-three years which followed the Restoration, the value of the annual imports from that rich and populous district increased from eight thousand pounds to three hundred thousand.

The gains of the body which had the exclusive possession of this fast-growing trade were almost incredible. The capital which had been actually paid up did not exceed three hundred and seventy thousand pounds :

<sup>1</sup> It is a curious fact, which I do not remember to have ever seen noticed, that tea came into fashion, and, after a short time, went out of fashion, at Paris, some years before the name appears to have been known in London. Cardinal Mazarin and the Chancellor Seguier were great tea drinkers. See the letters of Gui Patin to Charles Spon, dated March 10 and 22, 1648, and April 1, 1657. Patin calls the taste for tea "l'impertinente nouveauté du siècle."

<sup>2</sup> See Davenant's Letter to Mulgrave.

<sup>3</sup> *Answer to Two Letters Concerning the East India Company*, 1676.

but the Company could, without difficulty, borrow money at six per cent., and the borrowed money, thrown into trade, produced, it was rumored, thirty per cent. The profits were such that, in 1676, every proprietor received as a bonus a quantity of stock equal to that which he held. On the capital, thus doubled, was paid, during five years, dividends amounting on an average to twenty per cent. annually. There had been a time when a hundred pounds of the stock could be purchased for sixty. Even in 1664 the price in the market was only seventy. But in 1677 the price had risen to two hundred and forty-five : in 1681 it was three hundred : it subsequently rose to three hundred and sixty ; and it is said that some sales were effected at five hundred.<sup>1</sup>

The enormous gains of the Indian trade might perhaps have excited little murmuring if they had been distributed among numerous proprietors. But, while the value of the stock went on increasing, the number of stockholders went on diminishing. At the time when the prosperity of the Company reached the highest point, the management was entirely in the hands of a few merchants of enormous wealth. A proprietor then had a vote for every five hundred pounds of stock that stood in his name. It is asserted in the pamphlets of that age that five persons had a sixth part, and fourteen persons a third part of the votes.<sup>2</sup> More than one

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Dictionary* ; G. White's *Account of the Trade to the East Indies*, 1691 ; *Treatise on the East India Trade*, by Philopatrius, 1681.

<sup>2</sup> *Reasons for Constituting a New East India Company in London*, 1681 ; *Some Remarks upon the Present State of the East India Company's Affairs*, 1690.

fortunate speculator was said to derive an annual income of ten thousand pounds from the monopoly ; and one great man was pointed out on the Royal Exchange as having, by judicious or lucky purchases of stock, created in no long time an estate of twenty thousand a year. This commercial grandee, who in wealth, and in the influence which attends wealth, vied with the greatest nobles of his time, was Sir Josiah Child. There were those who still remembered him an apprentice, sweeping one of the counting-houses of the City. But from a humble position his abilities had raised him rapidly to opulence, power, and fame. Before the Restoration he was highly considered in the mercantile world. Soon after that event he published his thoughts on the philosophy of trade. His speculations were not always sound : but they were the speculations of an ingenious and reflecting man. Into whatever errors he may occasionally have fallen as a theorist, it is certain that, as a practical man of business, he had few equals. Almost as soon as he became a member of the committee which directed the affairs of the Company, his ascendancy was felt. Soon many of the most important posts, both in Leadenhall Street and in the factories of Bombay and Bengal, were filled by his kinsmen and creatures. His riches, though expended with ostentatious profusion, continued to increase and multiply. He obtained a baronetcy : he purchased a stately seat at Wanstead ; and there he laid out immense sums in excavating fish-ponds, and in planting whole square miles of barren land with walnut-trees. He married his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, and paid down with her a portion of fifty thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn, March 16, 1682.

But this wonderful prosperity was not uninterrupted. Toward the close of the reign of Charles the Second the Company began to be fiercely attacked from without, and to be at the same time distracted by internal dissensions. The profits of the Indian trade were so tempting that private adventurers had sometimes, in defiance of the royal charter, fitted out ships for the Eastern seas. But the competition of the interlopers did not become really formidable till the year 1680. The nation was then violently agitated by the dispute about the Exclusion Bill. Timid men were anticipating another civil war. The two great parties, newly named Whigs and Tories, were fiercely contending in every county and town of England ; and the feud soon spread to every corner of the civilized world where Englishmen were to be found.

The Company was popularly considered as a Whig body. Among the members of the directing committee were some of the most vehement Exclusionists in the City. Indeed, two of them, Sir Samuel Barnardistone and Thomas Papillon, drew on themselves a severe persecution by their zeal against Popery and arbitrary power.<sup>1</sup> Child had been originally brought into the direction by these men : he had long acted in concert with them ; and he was supposed to hold their political opinions. He had, during many years, stood high in the esteem of the chief of the parliamentary opposition, and had been especially obnoxious to the Duke of York.<sup>2</sup> The interlopers therefore determined to affect the character of loyal men, who were determined to stand by the throne against the insolent tribunes of the

<sup>1</sup> See the *State Trials*.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys's *Diary*, April 2 and May 10, 1669.



City. They spread, at all the factories in the East, reports that England was in confusion, that the sword had been drawn or would immediately be drawn, and that the Company was forward in the rebellion. These rumors, which, in truth, were not improbable, easily found credit among people separated from London by what was then a voyage of twelve months. Some servants of the Company who were in ill-humor with their employers, and others who were zealous royalists, joined the private traders. At Bombay, the garrison and the great body of the English inhabitants declared that they would no longer obey a society which did not obey the King : they imprisoned the Deputy Governor ; and they proclaimed that they held the island for the crown. At Saint Helena there was a rising. The insurgents took the name of King's men, and displayed the royal standard. They were, not without difficulty, put down ; and some of them were executed by martial law.<sup>1</sup>

If the Company had still been a Whig Company when the news of these commotions reached England, it is probable that the government would have approved of the conduct of the mutineers, and that the charter on which the monopoly depended would have had the fate which about the same time befell so many other charters. But while the interlopers were, at a distance of many thousands of miles, making war on the Company in the name of the King, the Company and the King had been reconciled. When the Oxford Parliament had been dissolved, when many signs indicated that a strong reaction in favor of prerogative was at hand, when all the corporations which had incurred

<sup>1</sup> Trench's *Modest and Just Apology for the East India Company*, 1690.

the royal displeasure were beginning to tremble for their franchises, a rapid and complete revolution took place at the India House. Child, who was then governor, or, in the modern phrase, chairman, separated himself from his old friends, excluded them from the direction, and negotiated a treaty of peace and of close alliance with the court.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that the near connection into which he had just entered with the great Tory house of Beaufort may have had something to do with this change in his politics. Papillon, Barnardistone, and other Whig share-holders, sold their stock : their places in the committee were supplied by persons devoted to Child ; and he was thenceforth the autocrat of the Company. The treasures of the Company were absolutely at his disposal. The most important papers of the Company were kept, not in the muniment room of the office in Leadenhall Street, but in his desk at Wanstead. The boundless power which he exercised at the India House enabled him to become a favorite at Whitehall ; and the favor which he enjoyed at Whitehall confirmed his power at the India House. A present of ten thousand guineas was graciously received from him by Charles. Ten thousand more were accepted by James, who readily consented to become a holder of stock. All who could help or hurt at court, ministers, mistresses, priests, were kept in good-humor by presents of shawls and silks, birds'-nests and attar of roses, bulses of diamonds and bags of guineas.<sup>2</sup> Of what the Dictator expended no ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Some Remarks on the Present State of the East India Company's Affairs*, 1690 ; Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*.

<sup>2</sup> White's *Account of the East India Trade*, 1691 ; Pierce Butler's *Tale*, 1691.

count was asked by his colleagues ; and, in truth, he seems to have deserved the confidence which they reposed in him. His bribes, distributed with judicious prodigality, speedily produced a large return. Just when the court became all-powerful in the State, he became all-powerful at the court. Jeffreys pronounced a decision in favor of the monopoly, and of the strongest acts which had been done in defence of the monopoly. James ordered his seal to be put to a new charter which confirmed and extended all the privileges bestowed on the Company by his predecessors. All captains of Indiamen received commissions from the crown, and were permitted to hoist the royal ensigns.<sup>1</sup> John Child, brother of Sir Josiah, and Governor of Bombay, was created a baronet by the style of Sir John Child of Surat : he was declared General of all the English forces in the East ; and he was authorized to assume the title of Excellency. The Company, on the other hand, distinguished itself among many servile corporations by obsequious homage to the throne, and set to all the merchants of the kingdom the example of readily and even eagerly paying those customs which James, at the commencement of his reign, exacted without the authority of Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

It seemed that the private trade would now be utterly crushed, and that the monopoly, protected by the whole strength of the royal prerogative, would be more profitable than ever. But, unfortunately, just at this moment a quarrel arose between the agents of the

<sup>1</sup> White's *Account of the Trade to the East Indies*, 1691 ; Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies* ; Sir John Wyborne to Pepys from Bombay, Jan. 7, 1687.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, Feb.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1684.

Company in India and the Mogul Government. Where the fault lay is a question which was vehemently disputed at the time, and which it is now impossible to decide. The interlopers threw all the blame on the Company. The Governor of Bombay, they affirmed, had always been grasping and violent: but his baronetcy and his military commission had completely turned his head. The very natives who were employed about the factory had noticed the change, and had muttered, in their broken English, that there must be some strange curse attending the word Excellency; for that, ever since the chief of the strangers was called Excellency, everything had gone to ruin. Meanwhile, it was said, the brother in England had sanctioned all the unjust and impolitic acts of the brother in India, till at length insolence and rapine, disgraceful to the English nation and to the Christian religion, had roused the just resentment of the native authorities. The Company warmly recriminated. The story told at the India House was that the quarrel was entirely the work of the interlopers, who were now designated not only as interlopers but as traitors. They had, it was alleged, by flattery, by presents, and by false accusations, induced the viceroys of the Mogul to oppress and persecute the body which in Asia represented the English crown. And, indeed, this charge seems not to have been altogether without foundation. It is certain that one of the most pertinacious enemies of the Childs went up to the court of Aurengzebe, took his station at the palace gate, stopped the Great King, who was in the act of mounting on horseback, and, lifting a petition high in the air, demanded justice<sup>1</sup> in the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*.

common God of Christians and Mussulmans. Whether Aurengzebe paid much attention to the charges brought by infidel Franks against each other may be doubted. But it is certain that a complete rupture took place between his deputies and the servants of the Company. On the sea the ships of his subjects were seized by the English. On land the English settlements were taken and plundered. The trade was suspended ; and, though great annual dividends were still paid in London, they were no longer paid out of annual profits.

Just at this conjuncture, while every Indiaman that arrived in the Thames was bringing unwelcome news from the East, all the politics of Sir Josiah were utterly confounded by the Revolution. He had flattered himself that he had secured the body of which he was the chief against the machinations of interlopers, by uniting it closely with the strongest government that had existed within his memory. That government had fallen ; and whatever had leaned on the ruined fabric began to totter. The bribes had been thrown away. The connections which had been the strength and boast of the corporation were now its weakness and its shame. The King who had been one of its members was an exile. The Judge by whom all its most exorbitant pretensions had been pronounced legitimate was a prisoner. All the old enemies of the Company, re-enforced by those great Whig merchants whom Child had expelled from the direction, demanded justice and vengeance from the Whig House of Commons which had just placed William and Mary on the throne. No voice was louder in accusation than that of Papillon, who had, some years before, been more zealous for the



charter than any man in London.<sup>1</sup> The Commons censured in severe terms the persons who had inflicted death by martial law at Saint Helena, and even resolved that some of those offenders should be excluded from the Act of Indemnity.<sup>2</sup> The great question, how the trade with the East should for the future be carried on, was referred to a committee. The report was to have been made on the twenty-seventh of January, 1690; but on that very day the Parliament ceased to exist.

The first two sessions of the succeeding Parliament were so short and so busy that little was said about India in either House. But out of Parliament all the arts both of controversy and of intrigue were employed on both sides. Almost as many pamphlets were published about the India trade as about the oaths. The despot of Leadenhall Street was libelled in prose and verse. Wretched puns were made on his name. He was compared to Cromwell, to the King of France, to Goliath of Gath, to the Devil. It was vehemently declared to be necessary that, in any Act which might be passed for the regulation of our traffic with the Eastern seas, Sir Josiah should be by name excluded from all trust.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Papillon was of course reproached with his inconsistency. Among the pamphlets of that time is one entitled *A Treatise Concerning the East India Trade, wrote at the Instance of Thomas Papillon, Esquire, and in his House, and Printed in the year 1680, and now Reprinted for the better Satisfaction of himself and others.*

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, June 8, 1689.

<sup>3</sup> Among the pamphlets in which Child is most fiercely attacked, are: *Some Remarks on the Present State of the East India Company's Affairs*, 1690; *Pierce Butler's Tale*, 1691; and *White's Account of the Trade to the East Indies*, 1691.

There were, however, great differences of opinion among those who agreed in hating Child and the body of which he was the head. The manufacturers of Spitalfields, of Norwich, of Yorkshire, and of Wiltshire, considered the trade with the Eastern seas as rather injurious than beneficial to the kingdom. The importation of Indian spices, indeed, was admitted to be harmless, and the importation of Indian saltpetre to be necessary. But the importation of silks and of Bengals, as shawls were then called, was pronounced to be a curse to the country. The effect of the growing taste for such frippery was that our gold and silver went abroad, and that much excellent English drapery lay in our warehouses till it was devoured by the moths. Those, it was said, were happy days for the inhabitants both of our pasture-lands and of our manufacturing towns, when every gown, every waistcoat, every bed was made of materials which our own flocks had furnished to our own looms. Where were now the brave old hangings of arras which had adorned the walls of lordly mansions in the time of Elizabeth? And was it not a shame to see a gentleman, whose ancestors had worn nothing but stuffs made by English workmen out of English fleeces, flaunting in a calico shirt and a pair of silk stockings from Moorshedabad? Clamors such as these had, a few years before, extorted from Parliament the act which required that the dead should be wrapped in woollen; and some sanguine clothiers hoped that the legislature would, by excluding all Indian textures from our ports, impose the same necessity on the living.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Discourse Concerning the East India Trade, showing it to be unprofitable to the Kingdom*, by Mr. Cary; Pierce Butler's

But this feeling was confined to a minority. The public was indeed, inclined rather to overrate than to underrate the benefits which might be derived by England from the Indian trade. What was the most effectual mode of extending that trade, was a question which excited general interest, and which was answered in very different ways.

A small party, consisting chiefly of merchants resident at Bristol and other provincial seaports, maintained that the best way to extend trade was to leave it free. They urged the well-known arguments which prove that monopoly is injurious to commerce ; and, having fully established the general law, they asked why the commerce between England and India was to be considered as an exception to that law. Any trader ought, they said, to be permitted to send from any port in the kingdom a cargo to Surat or Canton as freely as he now sent a cargo to Hamburg or Lisbon.<sup>1</sup> In our time these doctrines may probably be considered, not only as sound, but as trite and obvious. In the seventeenth century, however, they were thought paradoxical. It was then generally held to be an almost self-evident truth that our trade with the countries lying beyond the Cape of Good Hope could be advantageously carried on only by means of a great joint-stock company. There was no analogy, it was said, between our European trade and our Indian trade. Our government had diplomatic relations with the European states. If

*Tale, Representing the State of the Wool Case, or the East India Trade truly Stated*, 1691. Several petitions to the same effect will be found in the *Journals* of the House of Commons.

<sup>1</sup> *Reasons against Establishing an East India Company with a Joint Stock, Exclusive to all others*, 1691.

necessary, a maritime force could easily be sent from hence to the mouth of the Elbe or of the Tagus. But the English kings had no envoy at the court of Agra or Pekin. There was seldom a single English man-of-war within ten thousand miles of the Bay of Bengal or of the Gulf of Siam. As our merchants could not, in those remote seas, be protected by their Sovereign, they must protect themselves, and must, for that end, exercise some of the rights of sovereignty. They must have forts, garrisons, and armed ships. They must have power to send and receive embassies, to make a treaty of alliance with one Asiatic prince, to wage war on another. It was evidently impossible that every merchant should have this power independently of the rest. The merchants trading to India must, therefore, be joined together in a corporation which could act as one man. In support of these arguments the example of the Dutch was cited, and was generally considered as decisive. For in that age the immense prosperity of Holland was everywhere regarded with admiration, not the less earnest because it was largely mingled with envy and hatred. In all that related to trade, her statesmen were considered as oracles, and her institutions as models.

The great majority, therefore, of those who assailed the Company assailed it, not because it traded on joint funds and possessed exclusive privileges, but because it was ruled by one man, and because his rule had been mischievous to the public, and beneficial only to himself and his creatures. The obvious remedy, it was said, for the evils which his maladministration had produced was to transfer the monopoly to a new corporation so constituted as to be in no danger of falling

under the dominion either of a despot or of a narrow oligarchy. Many persons who were desirous to be members of such a corporation formed themselves into a society, signed an engagement, and intrusted the care of their interests to a committee which contained some of the chief traders of the City. This society, though it had, in the eye of the law, no personality, was early designated, in popular speech, as the New Company ; and the hostilities between the New Company and the Old Company soon caused almost as much excitement and anxiety, at least in that busy hive of which the Royal Exchange was the centre, as the hostilities between the Allies and the French King. The headquarters of the younger association were in Dowgate : the Skinners lent their stately hall ; and the meetings were held in a parlor renowned for the fragrance which exhaled from a magnificent wainscot of cedar.<sup>1</sup> While the contention was hottest, important news arrived from India, and was announced in the London Gazette as in the highest degree satisfactory. Peace had been concluded between the Great Mogul and the English. That mighty potentate had not only withdrawn his troops from the factories, but had bestowed on the Company privileges such as it had never before enjoyed. Soon, however, appeared a very different version of the story. The enemies of Child had, before this time, accused him of systematically publishing false intelligence. He had now, they said, outlied himself. They had obtained a true copy of the firman which had put an end to the war ; and they printed a

<sup>1</sup> The engagement was printed, and has been several times reprinted. As to Skinners' Hall, see Seymour's *History of London*, 1734.



translation of it. It appeared that Aurengzebe had contemptuously granted to the English, in consideration of their penitence and of a large tribute, his forgiveness for their past delinquency, had charged them to behave themselves better for the future, and had, in the tone of a master, laid on them his commands to remove the principal offender, Sir John Child, from power and trust. The death of Sir John occurred so seasonably that these commands could not be obeyed. But it was only too evident that the pacification which the rulers of the India House had represented as advantageous and honorable had really been effected on terms disgraceful to the English name.<sup>1</sup>

During the summer of 1691, the controversy which raged on this subject between the Leadenhall Street Company and the Dowgate Company kept the City in constant agitation. In the autumn, the Parliament had no sooner met than both the contending parties presented petitions to the House of Commons.<sup>2</sup> The petitions were immediately taken into serious consideration, and resolutions of grave importance were passed. The first resolution was that the trade with the East Indies was beneficial to the kingdom: the second was that the trade with the East Indies would be best carried on by a joint-stock company possessed of exclusive privileges.<sup>3</sup> It was plain, therefore, that neither those manufacturers who wished to prohibit the trade, nor those merchants at the outports who wished to throw it open, had the smallest chance of attaining

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, May 11, 1691; White's *Account of the East India Trade*.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Oct. 28, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1691.

their objects. The only question left was the question between the Old and the New Company. Seventeen years elapsed before that question ceased to disturb both political and commercial circles. It was fatal to the honor and power of one great minister, and to the peace and prosperity of many private families. The tracts which the rival bodies put forth against each other were innumerable. If the drama of that age may be trusted, the feud between the India House and Skinners' Hall was sometimes as serious an impediment to the course of true love in London as the feud of the Capulets and Montagues had been at Verona.<sup>1</sup> Which of the two contending parties was the stronger it is not easy to say. The New Company was supported by the Whigs, the Old Company by the Tories. The New Company was popular: for it promised largely, and could not yet be accused of having broken its promises: it made no dividends, and therefore was not envied: it had no power to oppress, and had therefore been guilty of no oppression. The Old Company, though generally regarded with little favor by the public, had the immense advantage of being in possession, and of having only to stand on the defensive. The burden of framing a plan for the regulation of the India trade, and proving that plan to be better than the plan hitherto followed, lay on the New Company. The Old Company had merely to find objections to every change that was proposed; and such objections there

<sup>1</sup> Rowe, in the *Biter*, which was damned, and deserved to be so, introduced an old gentleman haranguing his daughter thus: "Thou hast been bred up like a virtuous and a sober maiden; and wouldest thou take the part of a profane wretch who sold his stock out of the Old East India Company?"

was little difficulty in finding. The members of the New Company were ill provided with the means of purchasing support at Court and in Parliament. They had no corporate existence, no common treasury. If any of them gave a bribe, he gave it out of his own pocket, with little chance of being reimbursed. But the Old Company, though surrounded by dangers, still held its exclusive privileges, and still made its enormous profits. Its stock had, indeed, gone down greatly in value since the golden days of Charles the Second : but a hundred pounds still sold for a hundred and twenty-two.<sup>1</sup> After a large dividend had been paid to the proprietors, a surplus remained amply sufficient, in those days, to corrupt half a cabinet ; and this surplus was absolutely at the disposal of one able, determined, and unscrupulous man, who maintained the fight with wonderful art and pertinacity.

The majority of the Commons wished to effect a compromise, to retain the Old Company, but to remodel it, and to incorporate with it the members of the New Company. With this view it was, after long and vehement debates and close divisions, resolved that the capital should be increased to a million and a half. In order to prevent a single person or a small junto from domineering over the whole society, it was determined that five thousand pounds of stock should be the largest quantity that any single proprietor could hold, and that those who held more should be required to sell the overplus at any price not below par. In return for the exclusive privilege of trading to the Eastern seas, the Company was to be required to furnish annually five

<sup>1</sup> Hop to the States-general,  $\frac{\text{Oct. 30,}}{\text{Nov. 9,}}$  1691.

hundred tons of saltpetre to the crown at a low price, and to export annually English manufactures to the value of two hundred thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup>

A bill founded on these resolutions was brought in, read twice, and committed, but was suffered to drop in consequence of the positive refusal of Child and his associates to accept the offered terms. He objected to every part of the plan ; and his objections are highly curious and amusing. The great monopolist took his stand on the principles of free trade. In a luminous and powerfully written paper he exposed the absurdity of the expedients which the House of Commons had devised. To limit the amount of stock which might stand in a single name would, he said, be most unreasonable. Surely a proprietor whose whole fortune was staked on the success of the Indian trade was far more likely to exert all his faculties vigorously for the promotion of that trade than a proprietor who had risked only what it would be no great disaster to lose. The demand that saltpetre should be furnished to the crown for a fixed sum Child met by those arguments, familiar to our own generation, which prove that prices should be left to settle themselves. To the demand that the Company should bind itself to export annually two hundred thousand pounds' worth of English manufactures, he very properly replied that the Company would most gladly export two millions' worth if the market required such a supply, and that, if the market were overstocked, it would be mere folly to send good cloth half round the world to be eaten by white ants. It was never, he declared with much spirit, found

<sup>1</sup> Hop mentions the length and warmth of the debates ; Nov.  $\frac{13}{23}$ , 1691. See the *Commons' Journals*, Dec. 17 and 18.

politic to put trade into straight-laced bodices, which, instead of making it grow upright and thrive, must either kill it or force it awry.

The Commons, irritated by Child's obstinacy, presented an address requesting the King to dissolve the Old Company, and to grant a charter to a new company on such terms as to His Majesty's wisdom might seem fit.<sup>1</sup> It is plainly implied in the terms of this address that the Commons thought the King constitutionally competent to grant an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies.

The King replied that the subject was most important, that he would consider it maturely, and that he would, at a future time give the House a more precise answer.<sup>2</sup> In Parliament nothing more was said on the subject during that session : but out of Parliament the war was fiercer than ever ; and the belligerents were by no means scrupulous about the means which they employed. The chief weapons of the New Company were libels : the chief weapons of the Old Company were bribes.

In the same week in which the bill for the regulation of the Indian trade was suffered to drop, another bill, which had produced great excitement, and had called forth an almost unprecedented display of parliamentary ability, underwent the same fate.

During the eight years which preceded the Revolution, the Whigs had complained bitterly, and not more bitterly than justly, of the hard measure dealt out to persons accused of political offences. Was it not monstrous, they asked, that a culprit should be de-

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 4 and 6, 1691.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1691.



nied a sight of his indictment? Often an unhappy prisoner had not known of what he was accused till he had held up his hand at the bar. The crime imputed to him might be plotting to shoot the King : it might be plotting to poison the King. The more innocent the defendant was, the less likely he was to guess the nature of the charge on which he was to be tried ; and how could he have evidence ready to rebut a charge the nature of which he could not guess ? The crown had power to compel the attendance of witnesses. The prisoner had no such power. If witnesses voluntarily came forward to speak in his favor, they could not be sworn. Their testimony, therefore, made less impression on a jury than the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution, whose veracity was guaranteed by the most solemn sanctions of law and of religion. The juries, carefully selected by Sheriffs whom the government had named, were men animated by the fiercest party spirit, men who had as little tenderness for an Exclusionist or a Dissenter as for a mad dog. The crown was served by a band of able, experienced, and unprincipled lawyers, who could, by merely glancing over a brief, distinguish every weak and every strong point of a case, whose presence of mind never failed them, whose flow of speech was inexhaustible, and who had passed their lives in dressing up the worst reason so as to make it appear the better. Was it not horrible to see three or four of these shrewd, learned, and callous orators arrayed against one poor wretch who had never in his life uttered a word in public, who was ignorant of the legal definition of treason and of the first principles of the law of evidence, and whose intellect,

Debates on  
the Bill for  
regulating  
trials in cases  
of high-  
treason.

unequal at best to a fencing-match with professional gladiators, was confused by the near prospect of a cruel and ignominious death? Such, however, was the rule; and even for a man so much stupefied by sickness that he could not hold up his hand or make his voice heard, even for a poor old woman who understood nothing of what was passing except that she was going to be roasted alive for doing an act of charity, no advocate was suffered to utter a word. That a State trial so conducted was little better than a judicial murder had been, during the proscription of the Whig party, a fundamental article of the Whig creed. The Tories, on the other hand, though they could not deny that there had been some hard cases, maintained that, on the whole, substantial justice had been done. Perhaps a few seditious persons who had gone very near to the frontier of treason, but had not actually passed that frontier, might have suffered as traitors. But was that a sufficient reason for enabling the chiefs of the Rye-house Plot and of the Western Insurrection to elude, by mere chicanery, the punishment of their guilt? On what principle was the traitor to have chances of escape which were not allowed to the felon? The culprit who was accused of larceny was subject to all the same disadvantages which, in the case of regicides and rebels, were thought so unjust: yet nobody pitied him. Nobody thought it monstrous that he should not have time to study a copy of his indictment, that his witnesses should be examined without being sworn, that he should be left to defend himself, without the help of council, against the most crafty veteran of the Old Bailey bar. The Whigs, it seemed, reserved all their compassion for those crimes which subvert government

and dissolve the whole frame of human society. Guy Faux was to be treated with an indulgence which was not to be extended to a shoplifter. Bradshaw was to have privileges which were refused to a boy who had robbed a hen-roost.

The Revolution produced, as was natural, some change in the sentiments of both the great parties. In the days when none but Roundheads and Non-conformists were accused of treason, even the most humane and upright Cavaliers were disposed to think that the laws which were the safeguards of the throne could hardly be too severe. But, as soon as loyal Tory gentlemen and venerable fathers of the Church were in danger of being called in question for corresponding with Saint Germain, a new light flashed on many understandings which had been unable to discover the smallest injustice in the proceedings against Algernon Sidney and Alice Lisle. It was no longer thought utterly absurd to maintain that some advantages which were withheld from a man accused of felony might reasonably be allowed to a man accused of treason. What probability was there that any sheriff would pack a jury, that any barrister would employ all the arts of sophistry and rhetoric, that any judge would strain law and misrepresent evidence, in order to convict an innocent person of burglary or sheep-stealing? But on a trial for high-treason a verdict of acquittal must always be considered as a defeat of the government; and that there was but too much reason to fear that many sheriffs, barristers, and judges might be impelled by party spirit, or by some baser motive, to do anything which might save the government from the inconvenience and shame of a defeat. The cry of the whole

body of Tories now was that the lives of good Englishmen who happened to be obnoxious to the ruling powers were not sufficiently protected ; and this cry was swelled by the voices of some lawyers who had distinguished themselves by the malignant zeal and dishonest ingenuity with which they had conducted State prosecutions in the days of Charles and James.

The feeling of the Whigs, though it had not, like the feeling of the Tories, undergone a complete change, was yet not quite what it had been. Some, who had thought it most unjust that Russell should have no counsel and that Cornish should have no copy of his indictment, now began to mutter that the times had changed ; that the dangers of the State were extreme ; that liberty, property, religion, national independence, were all at stake ; that many Englishmen were engaged in schemes of which the object was to make England the slave of France and of Rome ; and that it would be most unwise to relax, at such a moment, the laws against political offences. It was true that the injustice with which, in the late reigns, State trials had been conducted, had given great scandal. But this injustice was to be ascribed to the bad kings and bad judges with whom the nation had been cursed. William was now on the throne : Holt was seated for life on the bench ; and William would never exact, nor would Holt ever perform, services so shameful and wicked as those for which the banished tyrant had rewarded Jeffreys with riches and titles. This language, however, was at first held by but few. The Whigs, as a party, seemed to have felt that they could not honorably defend, in the season of their prosperity, what, in the time of their adversity, they had always designated

as a crying grievance. A bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason was brought into the House of Commons, and was received with general applause. Treby had the courage to make some objections : but no division took place. The chief enactments were that no person should be convicted of high-treason committed more than three years before the indictment was found ; that every person indicted for high-treason should be allowed to avail himself of the assistance of counsel, and should be furnished, ten days before the trial, with a copy of the indictment, and with a list of the freeholders from among whom the jury was to be taken ; that his witness should be sworn, and that they should be cited by the same process by which the attendance of the witnesses against him was secured.

The Bill went to the Upper House, and came back with an important amendment. The Lords had long complained of the anomalous and iniquitous constitution of that tribunal which had jurisdiction over them in cases of life and death. When a grand jury has found a bill of indictment against a temporal peer for any offence higher than a misdemeanor, the crown appoints a Lord High Steward ; and in the Lord High Steward's court the case is tried. This court was anciently composed in two different ways. It consisted, if Parliament happened to be sitting, of all the members of the Upper House. When Parliament was not sitting, the Lord High Steward summoned any twelve or more peers at his discretion to form a jury. The consequence was that a peer accused of high-treason during a recess was tried by a jury which his prosecutors had packed. The Lords now demanded that, during a recess as well as during a session, every peer accused of high-



treason should be tried by the whole body of the peerage.

The demand was resisted by the House of Commons with a vehemence and obstinacy which men of the present generation may find it difficult to understand. The truth is that some invidious privileges of peerage which have since been abolished, and others which have since fallen into entire desuetude, were then in full force, and were daily used. No gentleman who had had a dispute with a nobleman could think, without indignation, of the advantages enjoyed by the favored caste. If his Lordship were sued at law, his privilege enabled him to impede the course of justice. If a rude word were spoken of him, such a word as he might himself utter with perfect impunity, he might vindicate his insulted dignity both by civil and criminal proceedings. If a barrister, in the discharge of his duty to a client, spoke with severity of the conduct of a noble seducer, if an honest squire on the race-course applied the proper epithets to the tricks of a noble swindler, the affronted patrician had only to complain to the proud and powerful body of which he was a member. His brethren made his cause their own. The offender was taken into custody by Black Rod, brought to the bar, flung into prison, and kept there till he was glad to obtain forgiveness by the most degrading submissions. Nothing could, therefore, be more natural than that an attempt of the Peers to obtain any new advantage for their order should be regarded by the Commons with extreme jealousy. There is strong reason to suspect that some able Whig politicians, who thought it dangerous to relax, at that moment, the laws against political offences, but who could not, without incurring

the charge of inconsistency, declare themselves adverse to any relaxation, had conceived a hope that they might, by fomenting the dispute about the court of the Lord High Steward, defer for at least a year the passing of a bill which they disliked, and yet could not decently oppose. If this really was their plan, it succeeded perfectly. The Lower House rejected the amendment: the Upper House persisted: a free conference was held; and the question was argued with great force and ingenuity on both sides.

The reasons in favor of the amendment are obvious, and, indeed, at first sight seem unanswerable. It was surely difficult to defend a system under which the Sovereign nominated a conclave of his own creatures to decide the fate of men whom he regarded as his mortal enemies. And could anything be more absurd than that a nobleman accused of high-treason should be entitled to be tried by the whole body of his peers if his indictment happened to be brought into the House of Lords the minute before prorogation, but that, if the indictment arrived a minute after the prorogation, he should be at the mercy of a small junto named by the very authority which prosecuted him? That anything could have been said on the other side seems strange: but those who managed the conference for the Commons were not ordinary men, and seem on this occasion to have put forth all their powers. Conspicuous among them was Charles Montague, who was rapidly rising to the highest rank among the orators of that age. To him the lead seems on this occasion to have been left; and to his pen we owe an account of the discussion, which gives an excellent notion of his talents for debate. "We have framed"—such was the sub-

stance of his reasoning—" we have framed a law which has in it nothing exclusive, a law which will be a blessing to every class, from the highest to the lowest. The new securities which we propose to give to innocence oppressed by power are common between the premier peer and the humblest day-laborer. The cause which establishes a time of limitation for prosecutions protects us all alike. To every Englishman accused of the highest crime against the State, whatever be his rank, we give the privilege of seeing his indictment, the privilege of being defended by counsel, the privilege of having his witnesses summoned by a writ of subpoena and sworn on the Holy Gospels. Such is the bill which we sent up to Your Lordships ; and you return it to us with a clause of which the effect is to give certain advantages to your noble order at the expense of the ancient prerogatives of the crown. Surely, before we consent to take away from the King any power which his predecessors have possessed for ages, and to give it to Your Lordships, we ought to be satisfied that you are more likely to use it well than he. Something we must risk ; somebody we must trust ; and since we are forced, much against our will, to institute what is necessarily an invidious comparison, we must own ourselves unable to discover any reason for believing that a prince is less to be trusted than an aristocracy. Is it reasonable, you ask, that you should be tried for your lives before a few members of your House, selected by the crown ? Is it reasonable, we ask in our turn, that you should have the privilege of being tried by all the members of your House, that is to say, by your brothers, your uncles, your first-cousins, your second-cousins, your fathers-

in-law, your brothers-in-law, your most intimate friends? You marry so much into each other's families, you live so much in each other's society, that there is scarcely a nobleman who is not connected by consanguinity or affinity with several others, and who is not on terms of friendship with several more. There have been great men whose death put a third or fourth part of the baronage of England into mourning. Nor is there much danger that even those peers who may be unconnected with an accused lord will be disposed to send him to the block if they can with decency say, 'Not Guilty, upon my honor.' For the ignominious death of a single member of a small aristocratical body necessarily leaves a stain on the reputation of his fellows. If, indeed, Your Lordships proposed that every one of your body should be compelled to attend and vote, the crown might have some chance of obtaining justice against a guilty peer, however strongly connected. But you propose that attendance shall be voluntary. Is it possible to doubt what the consequence will be? All the prisoner's relations and friends will be in their places to vote for him. Good-nature and the fear of making powerful enemies will keep away many who, if they voted at all, would be forced by conscience and honor to vote against him. The new system which you propose would, therefore, evidently be unfair to the crown; and you do not show any reason for believing that the old system has been found in practice unfair to yourselves. We may confidently affirm that, even under a government less just and merciful than that under which we have the happiness to live, an innocent peer has little to fear from any set of peers that can be brought together in Westminster

Hall to try him. How stands the fact? In what single case has a guiltless head fallen by the verdict of this packed jury? It would be easy to make out a long list of squires, merchants, lawyers, surgeons, yeomen, artisans, ploughmen, whose blood, barbarously shed during the late evil times, cries for vengeance to Heaven. But what single member of your House, in our days, or in the days of our fathers, or in the days of our grandfathers, suffered death unjustly by sentence of the Court of the Lord High Steward? Hundreds of the common people were sent to the gallows by common juries for the Rye-house Plot and the Western Insurrection. One peer, and one alone, my Lord Delamere, was brought at that time before the court of the Lord High Steward; and he was acquitted. You say that the evidence against him was legally insufficient. Be it so. But so was the evidence against Sidney, against Cornish, against Alice Lisle; yet it sufficed to destroy them. You say that the peers before whom my Lord Delamere was brought were selected with shameless unfairness by King James and by Jeffreys. Be it so. But this only proves that, under the worst possible King, and under the worst possible High Steward, a lord tried by lords has a better chance for life than a commoner who puts himself on his country. We cannot, therefore, under the mild government which we now possess, feel much apprehension for the safety of any innocent peer. Would that we felt as little apprehension for the safety of that government! But it is notorious that the settlement with which our liberties are inseparably bound up is attacked at once by foreign and by domestic enemies. We cannot consent, at such a crisis, to relax the restraints



which have, it may well be feared, already proved too feeble to prevent some men of high rank from plotting the ruin of their country. To sum up the whole, what is asked of us is that we will consent to transfer a certain power from their Majesties to your Lordships. Our answer is that, at this time, in our opinion, their Majesties have not too much power, and your Lordships have quite power enough."

These arguments, though eminently ingenious, and not without real force, failed to convince the Upper House. The Lords insisted that every peer should be entitled to be a Trier. The Commons were with difficulty induced to consent that the number of Triers should never be less than thirty-six, and positively refused to make any further concession. The bill was therefore suffered to drop.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that those who in the conference on this bill represented the Commons, did not exaggerate the dangers to which the government was exposed. While the constitution of the court which was to try peers for treason was under discussion, a treason planned with rare skill by a peer was all but carried into execution.

Marlborough had never ceased to assure the Court of Saint Germain's that the great crime which he had committed was constantly present to his thoughts, and that he lived only for the purpose of repentance and reparation. Not only had he been himself

<sup>1</sup> The history of this bill is to be collected from the bill itself, which is among the Archives of the Upper House, from the *Journals* of the two Houses during November and December, 1690, and January, 1691; particularly from the *Commons' Journals* of December 11, and January 13 and 25, and the *Lords' Journals* of January 20 and 28. See also Grey's *Debates*.

converted: he had also converted the Princess Anne. In 1688, the Churchills had, with little difficulty, induced her to fly from her father's palace.

Plot formed  
by Marlbor-  
ough against  
the govern-  
ment of  
William.

In 1691, they, with as little difficulty, induced her to copy out and sign a letter expressing her deep concern for his misfortunes, and her earnest wish to atone for her breach of duty.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time Marlborough held out hopes that it might be in his power to effect the restoration of his old master in the best possible way, without the help of a single foreign soldier or sailor, by the votes of the English Lords and Commons, and by the support of the English army. We are not fully informed as to all the details of his plan. But the outline is known to us from a most interesting paper written by James, of which one copy is in the Bodleian Library, and another among the archives of the French Foreign Office.

The jealousy with which the English regarded the Dutch was at this time intense. There had never been a hearty friendship between the nations. They were, indeed, near of kin to each other. They spoke two dialects of one widespread language. Both boasted of their political freedom. Both were attached to the reformed faith. Both were threatened by the same enemy, and could be safe only while they were united. Yet there was no cordial feeling between them. They would probably have loved each other more if they had, in some respects, resembled each other less. They were the two great commercial nations, the two great maritime nations. In every sea their flags were found

<sup>1</sup> The letter, dated December 1, 1691, is in the *Life of James*, ii., 477.

together, in the Baltic and in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico and in the straits of Malacca. Everywhere the merchant of London and the merchant of Amsterdam were trying to forestall each other, and to undersell each other. In Europe the contest was not sanguinary. But too often, in barbarous countries, where there was no law but force, the competitors had met, burning with cupidity, burning with animosity, armed for battle, each suspecting the other of hostile designs, and each resolved to give the other no advantage. In such circumstances it is not strange that many violent and cruel acts should have been perpetrated. What had been done in those distant regions could seldom be exactly known in Europe. Everything was exaggerated and distorted by vague report and by national prejudice. Here it was the popular belief that the English were always blameless, and that every quarrel was to be ascribed to the avarice and inhumanity of the Dutch. Lamentable events which had taken place in the Spice Islands were brought on our stage. The Englishmen were all saints and heroes; the Dutchmen all fiends in human shape—lying, robbing, ravishing, murdering, torturing. The angry passions indicated by these representations had more than once found vent in war. Thrice in the lifetime of one generation the two nations had contended, with equal courage and with various success, for the sovereignty of the ocean. The tyranny of James, as it had reconciled Tories to Whigs, and Churchmen to Non-conformists, had also reconciled the English to the Dutch. While our ancestors were looking to the Hague for deliverance, the massacre of Amboyna and the great humiliation of Chatham had seemed to be

forgotten. But since the Revolution the old feeling had revived. Though England and Holland were now closely bound together by treaty, they were as far as ever from being bound together by affection. Once, just after the battle of Beachy Head, our countrymen had seemed disposed to be just : but a violent reaction had speedily followed. Torrington, who deserved to be shot, became a popular favorite ; and the allies whom he had shamefully abandoned were accused of persecuting him without a cause. The partiality shown by the King to the companions of his youth was the favorite theme of the sowers of sedition. The most lucrative posts in his household, it was said, were held by Dutchmen : the House of Lords was fast filling with Dutchmen : the finest manors of the crown were given to Dutchmen ; the army was commanded by Dutchmen. That it would have been wise in William to exhibit somewhat less obtrusively his laudable fondness for his native country, and to remunerate his early friends somewhat more sparingly, is perfectly true. But it will not be easy to prove that, on any important occasion during his whole reign, he sacrificed the interests of our island to the interests of the United Provinces. The English, however, were on this subject prone to fits of jealousy which made them quite incapable of listening to reason. One of the sharpest of those fits came on in the autumn of 1691. The antipathy to the Dutch was at that time strong in all classes, and nowhere stronger than in the Parliament and in the army.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 85 ; and Burnet MS., Harl. 6584. See also a memorial signed by Holmes, but consisting of intelligence furnished by Ferguson, among the extracts from the *Nairne*

Of that antipathy Marlborough determined to avail himself for the purpose, as he assured James and James's adherents, of effecting a restoration. The temper of both Houses was such that they might not improbably be induced by skilful management to present a joint address requesting that all foreigners might be dismissed from the service of their Majesties. Marlborough undertook to move such an address in the Lords; and there would have been no difficulty in finding some gentleman of great weight to make a similar motion in the Commons.

If the address should be carried, what could William do? Would he yield? Would he discard all his dearest, his oldest, his most trusty friends? It was hardly possible to believe that he would make so painful, so humiliating, a concession. If he did not yield, there would be a rupture between him and the Parliament; and the Parliament would be backed by the people. Even a king reigning by an hereditary title might well shrink from such a contest with the Estates of the Realm. But to a king whose title rested on a resolution of the Estates of the Realm such a contest must almost necessarily be fatal. The last hope of William would be in the army. The army Marlborough undertook to manage; and it is highly probable that what he undertook he could have performed. His courage, his abilities, his noble and win-

*Papers*, printed by Macpherson. It bears date October, 1691. "The Prince of Orange," says Holmes, "is mortally hated by the English. They see very fairly that he hath no love for them; neither doth he confide in them, but all in his Dutch. . . . It's not doubted but the Parliament will not be for foreigners to ride them with a cavesson."



ning manners, the splendid success which had attended him on every occasion on which he had been in command, had made him, in spite of his sordid vices, a favorite with his brethren in arms. They were proud of having one countryman who had shown that he wanted nothing but opportunity to vie with the ablest Marshal of France. The Dutch were even more disliked by the English troops than by the English nation generally. Had Marlborough, therefore, after securing the co-operation of some distinguished officers, presented himself at the critical moment to those regiments which he had led to victory in Flanders and in Ireland, had he called on them to rally round him, to protect the Parliament, and to drive out the aliens, there is strong reason to think that the call would have been obeyed. He would then have had it in his power to fulfil the promises which he had solemnly made to his old master.

Of all the schemes ever formed for the restoration of James or of his descendants, this scheme promised the fairest. That national pride, that hatred of arbitrary power, which had hitherto been on William's side, would now be turned against him. Hundreds of thousands, who would have put their lives in jeopardy to prevent a French army from imposing a government on the English, would have felt no disposition to prevent an English army from driving out the Dutch. Even the Whigs could scarcely, without renouncing their old doctrines, support a prince who obstinately refused to comply with the general wish of his people signified to him by his Parliament. The plot looked well. An active canvass was made. Many members of the House of Commons, who did not at all suspect

that there was any ulterior design, promised to vote against the foreigners. Marlborough was indefatigable in inflaming the discontents of the army. His house was constantly filled with officers who heated each other into fury by talking against the Dutch. But, before the preparations were complete, a strange suspicion rose in the minds of some of the Jacobites. That the author of this bold and artful scheme wished to pull down the existing government there could be little doubt. But was it quite certain what government he meant to set up? Might he not depose William without restoring James? Was it not possible that a man so wise, so aspiring, and so wicked, might be meditating a double treason, such as would have been thought a master-piece of state-craft by the great Italian politicians of the fifteenth century, such as Borgia would have envied, such as Machiavel would have extolled to the skies? What if this consummate dissembler should cheat both the rival kings? What if, when he found himself commander of the army and protector of the Parliament, he should proclaim Queen Anne? Was it not possible that the weary and harassed nation might gladly acquiesce in such a settlement? James was unpopular because he was a Papist influenced by Popish priests. William was unpopular because he was a foreigner attached to foreign favorites. Anne was at once a Protestant and an Englishwoman. Under her government the country would be in no danger of being overrun either by Jesuits or by Dutchmen. That Marlborough had the strongest motives for placing her on the throne was evident. He could never, in the court of her father, be more than a repentant criminal, whose services were overpaid by a pardon. In her

court the husband of her adored friend would be what Pepin Heristal and Charles Martel had been to the Chilperics and Childeberts. He would be the chief director of the civil and military government. He would wield the whole power of England. He would hold the balance of Europe. Great kings and commonwealths would bid against each other for his favor, and exhaust their treasuries in the vain hope of satiating his avarice. The presumption was, therefore, that, if he had the English crown in his hands, he would put it on the head of the Princess. What evidence there was to confirm this presumption is not known : but it is certain that something took place which convinced some of the most devoted friends of the exiled family that he was meditating a second perfidy, surpassing even the feat which he had performed at Salisbury. They were afraid that if, at that moment, they succeeded in getting rid of William, the situation of James would be more hopeless than ever. So fully were they persuaded of the duplicity of their accomplice, that they not only refused to proceed farther, in the execution of the plan which he had formed, but disclosed his whole scheme to Portland.

Marlborough's plot disclosed by the Jacobites.

William seems to have been alarmed and provoked by this intelligence to a degree very unusual with him. In general, he was indulgent, nay, wilfully blind, to the baseness of the English statesmen whom he employed. He suspected, indeed he knew, that some of his servants were in correspondence with his competitor ; and yet he did not punish them, did not disgrace them, did not even frown on them. He thought meanly, and he had but too good reason for thinking

meanly, of the whole of that breed of public men which the Restoration had formed, and had bequeathed to the Revolution. He knew them too well to complain because he did not find in them veracity, fidelity, consistency, disinterestedness. The very utmost that he expected from them was that they would serve him as far as they could serve him without serious danger to themselves. If he learned that, while sitting in his council and enriched by his bounty, they were trying to make for themselves at Saint Germain an interest which might be of use to them in the event of a counter-revolution, he was more inclined to bestow on them the contemptuous commendation which was bestowed of old on the worldly wisdom of the unjust steward than to call them to a severe account. But the crime of Marlborough was of a very different kind. His treason was not that of a faint-hearted man desirous to keep a retreat open for himself in every event, but that of a man of dauntless courage, profound policy, and measureless ambition. William was not prone to fear ; but if there was anything on earth that he feared, it was Marlborough. To treat the criminal as he deserved was indeed impossible : for those by whom his designs had been made known to the government would never have consented to appear against him in the witness-box. But to permit him to retain high command in that army which he was then engaged in seducing would have been madness.

Late in the evening of the ninth of January the Queen had a painful explanation with the Princess Anne.

1692. Early the next morning Marlborough was  
Disgrace of informed that their Majesties had no further  
Marlborough. occasion for his services, and that he must

not presume to appear in the royal presence. He had been loaded with honors, and, with what he loved better, riches. All was at once taken away.

The real history of these events was known to very few. Evelyn, who had in general excellent sources of

Various reports touching the cause of Marlborough's disgrace.

information, believed that the corruption and extortion of which Marlborough was notoriously guilty had roused the royal indignation. The Dutch ministers could only tell the States-general that six different stories were spread abroad by Marlborough's enemies. Some said that he had indiscreetly suffered an important military secret to escape him ; some that he had spoken disrespectfully of their Majesties ; some that he had done ill offices between the Queen and the Princess ; some that he had been forming cabals in the army ; some that he had carried on an unauthorized correspondence with the Danish government about the general politics of Europe ; and some that he had been trafficking with the agents of the Court of Saint Germain.<sup>1</sup> His friends contradicted every one of these tales, and affirmed that his only crime was his dislike of the foreigners who were lording it over his countrymen, and that he had fallen a victim to the machinations of Portland, whom he was known to dislike, and whom he had not very politely described as a wooden fellow. The mystery, which from the first overhung the story of Marlborough's disgrace, was darkened, after the lapse of fifty years, by the shameless mendacity of his widow. The concise narrative of James dispels that mystery, and makes it clear, not only why

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's *Diary*, Jan. 24 ; Hop to States-general, <sup>Jan. 22,</sup> Feb. 1, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$  ; Baden to States-general, Feb.  $\frac{1}{2}$  6.



Marlborough was disgraced, but also how several of the reports about the cause of his disgrace originated.<sup>1</sup>

Though William assigned to the public no reason for exercising his undoubted prerogative by dismissing his servant, Anne had been informed of the truth ; and it had been left to her to judge whether an officer who had been guilty of a

Rupture be-  
tween Mary  
and Anne.

<sup>1</sup> The words of James are these ; they were written in November, 1692 :

“ Mes amis, l'année passée, avoient dessein de me rappeler par le Parlement. La manière étoit concertée ; et Milord Churchill devoit proposer dans le Parlement de chasser tous les étrangers tant des conseils et de l'armée que du royaume. Si le Prince d'Orange avoit consenti à cette proposition, ils l'auroient eu entre leurs mains. S'il l'avoit refusée, il auroit fait déclarer le Parlement contre lui ; et en même temps Milord Churchill devoit se déclarer avec l'armée pour le Parlement ; et la flotte devoit faire de même ; et l'on devoit me rappeler. L'on avoit déjà commencé d'agir dans ce projet ; et on avoit gagné un gros parti, quand quelques fidèles sujets indiscrets, croyant me servir, et s'imaginant que ce que Milord Churchill faisoit n'étoit pas pour moi, mais pour la Princesse de Dauemarck, eurent l'imprudence de découvrir le tout à Beuthing, et détournèrent ainsi le coup.”

A translation of this most remarkable passage, which at once solves many interesting and perplexing problems, was published eighty years ago by Macpherson. But, strange to say, it attracted no notice, and has never, as far as I know, been mentioned by any biographer of Marlborough.

The narrative of James requires no confirmation ; but it is strongly confirmed by the Burnet MS., Harl. 6584. “ Marleborough,” Burnet wrote in September, 1693, “ set himself to decry the King's conduct and to lessen him in all his discourses, and to possess the English with an aversion to the Dutch, who, as he pretended, had a much larger share of the King's favor and confidence than they”—the English, I suppose—“ had. This was a point on which the English, who are too apt to

foul treason was a fit inmate of the palace. Three weeks passed. Lady Marlborough still retained her post and her apartments at Whitehall. Her husband still resided with her ; and still the King and Queen gave no sign of displeasure. At length the haughty

despise all other nations, and to overvalue themselves, were easily enough inflamed. So it grew to be the universal subject of discourse, and was the constant entertainment at Marleborough's, where there was a constant randivous of the English officers." About the dismissal of Marlborough, Burnet wrote at the same time : "The King said to myself upon it that he had very good reason to believe that he had made his peace with King James, and was engaged in a correspondence with France. It is certain he was doing all he could to set on a faction in the army and the nation against the Dutch."

It is curious to compare this plain tale, told while the facts were recent, with the shuffling narrative which Burnet prepared for the public eye many years later, when Marlborough was closely united to the Whigs, and was rendering great and splendid services to the country.—Burnet, ii., 90.

The Duchess of Marlborough, in her *Vindication*, had the effrontery to declare that she "could never learn what cause the King assigned for his displeasure." She suggests that Young's forgery may have been the cause. Now she must have known that Young's forgery was not committed till some months after her husband's disgrace. She was, indeed, lamentably deficient in memory, a faculty which is proverbially said to be necessary to persons of the class to which she belonged. Her own volume convicts her of falsehood. She gives a letter from Mary to Anne, in which Mary says, "I need not repeat the cause my Lord Marlborough has given the King to do what he has done." These words plainly imply that Anne had been apprised of the cause. If she had not been apprised of the cause, would she not have said so in her answer? But we have her answer ; and it contains not a word on the subject. She was, then, apprised of the cause ; and is it possible to believe that she kept it a secret from her adored Mrs. Freeman ?

and vindictive Countess, emboldened by their patience, determined to brave them face to face, and accompanied her mistress one evening to the drawing-room at Kensington. This was too much even for the gentle Mary. She would, indeed, have expressed her indignation before the crowd which surrounded the card-tables, had she not remembered that her sister was in a state which entitles women to peculiar indulgence. Nothing was said that night ; but on the following day a letter from the Queen was delivered to the Princess. Mary declared that she was unwilling to give pain to a sister whom she loved, and in whom she could easily pass over any ordinary fault : but this was a serious matter. Lady Marlborough must be dismissed. While she lived at Whitehall her Lord would live there. Was it proper that a man in his situation should be suffered to make the palace of his injured master his home ? Yet so unwilling was His Majesty to deal severely with the worst offenders, that even this had been borne, and might have been borne longer, had not Anne brought the Countess to defy the King and Queen in their own presence-chamber. " It was unkind," Mary wrote " in a sister : it would have been uncivil in an equal ; and I need not say that I have more to claim." The Princess, in her answer, did not attempt to exculpate or excuse Marlborough, but expressed a firm conviction that his wife was innocent, and implored the Queen not to insist on so heart-rending a separation. " There is no misery," Anne wrote, " that I cannot resolve to suffer rather than the thoughts of parting from her."

The Princess sent for her uncle Rochester, and implored him to carry her letter to Kensington, and to be

her advocate there. Rochester declined the office of messenger, and, though he tried to restore harmony between his kinswomen, was by no means disposed to plead the cause of the Churchills. He had, indeed, long seen with extreme uneasiness the absolute dominion exercised over his younger niece by that unprincipled pair. Anne's expostulation was sent to the Queen by a servant. The only reply was a message from the Lord Chamberlain, Dorset, commanding Lady Marlborough to leave the palace. Mrs. Morley would not be separated from Mrs. Freeman. As to Mr. Morley, all places where he could have his three courses and his three bottles were alike to him. The Princess and her whole family, therefore, retired to Sion House, a villa belonging to the Duke of Somerset, and situated on the margin of the Thames. In London she occupied Berkeley House, which stood in Piccadilly, on the site now covered by Devonshire House.<sup>1</sup> Her income was secured by Act of Parliament : but no punishment which it was in the power of the crown to inflict on her was spared. Her guard of honor was taken away. The foreign ministers ceased to wait upon her. When she went to Bath, the Secretary of State wrote to request the Mayor of that city not to receive her with the ceremonial with which royal visitors were usually welcomed. When she attended divine service at Saint James's Church, she found that the rector had been forbidden to show her the customary marks of respect,

<sup>1</sup> My account of these transactions I have been forced to take from the narrative of the Duchess of Marlborough, a narrative which is to be read with constant suspicion, except when, as is often the case, she relates some instances of her own malignity and insolence.







to bow to her from his pulpit, and to send a copy of his text to be laid on her cushion. Even the bellman of Piccadilly, it was said, perhaps falsely, was ordered not to chant her praises in his doggerel verse under the windows of Berkeley House.<sup>1</sup>

That Anne was in the wrong is clear ; but it is not equally clear that the King and Queen were in the right. They should have either dissembled their displeasure, or openly declared the true reasons for it. Unfortunately, they let everybody see the punishment, and they let scarcely anybody know the provocation. They should have remembered that, in the absence of information about the cause of a quarrel, the public is naturally inclined to side with the weaker party, and that this inclination is likely to be peculiarly strong when a sister is, without any apparent reason, harshly treated by a sister. They should have remembered, too, that they were exposing to attack what was unfortunately the one vulnerable part of Mary's character. A cruel fate had put enmity between her and her father. Her detractors pronounced her utterly destitute of natural affection ; and even her eulogists, when they spoke of the way in which she had discharged the duties of the filial relation, were forced to speak in a subdued and apologetic tone. Nothing, therefore, could be more unfortunate than that she should a second time appear unmindful of the ties of consan-

<sup>1</sup> *The Duchess of Marlborough's Vindication* ; Dartmouth's Note on Burnet, ii., 92 ; *Verses of the Night Bellman of Piccadilly and my Lord Nottingham's Order thereupon*, 1691. There is a bitter lampoon on Lady Marlborough of the same date, entitled *The Universal Health, a True Union to the Queen and Princess*.

guinity. She was now at open war with both the two persons who were nearest to her in blood. Many, who thought that her conduct to her parent was justified by the extreme danger which had threatened her country and her religion, were unable to defend her conduct toward her sister. While Mary, who was really guilty in this matter of nothing worse than imprudence, was regarded by the world as an oppressor, Anne, who was as culpable as her small faculties enabled her to be, assumed the interesting character of a meek, resigned sufferer. In those private letters, indeed, to which the name of Morley was subscribed, the Princess expressed the sentiments of a fury in the style of a fish-woman, railed savagely at the whole Dutch nation, and called her brother-in-law sometimes the abortion, sometimes the monster, sometimes Caliban.<sup>1</sup> But the nation heard nothing of her language and saw nothing of her deportment but what was decorous and submissive. The truth seems to have been that the rancorous and coarse-minded Countess gave the tone to her Highness's confidential correspondence, while the graceful, serene, and politic Earl was suffered to prescribe the course which was to be taken before the public eye. During a short time the Queen was generally blamed. But the charm of her temper and manners was irresistible ; and in a few months she regained the popularity which she had lost.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It must not be supposed that Anne was a reader of Shakespeare. She had, no doubt, often seen the *Enchanted Island*. That miserable *rifacimento* of *The Tempest* was then a favorite with the town, on account of the machinery and the decorations.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet MS., Harl., 6584.

It was a most fortunate circumstance for Marlborough that, just at the very time when all London was talking about his disgrace, and trying to guess at the cause of the King's sudden anger against one who had always seemed to be a favorite, an accusation of **Fuller's Plot.** treason was brought by William Fuller against many persons of high consideration, was strictly investigated, and was proved to be false and malicious. The consequence was that the public, which rarely discriminates nicely, could not, at that moment, be easily brought to believe in the reality of any Jacobite conspiracy.

That Fuller's plot is less celebrated than the Popish plot is the fault rather of the historians than of Fuller, who did all that man could to secure an eminent place among villains. Every person well read in history must have observed that depravity has its temporary modes, which come in and go out like modes of dress and upholstery. It may be doubted whether, in our country, any man ever, before the year 1678, invented and related on oath a circumstantial history, altogether fictitious, of a treasonable plot, for the purpose of making himself important by destroying men who had given him no provocation. But in the year 1678 this execrable crime became the fashion, and continued to be so during the twenty years which followed. Preachers designated it as our peculiar national sin, and prophesied that it would draw on us some awful national judgment. Legislators proposed new punishments of terrible severity for this new atrocity.<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, found necessary to resort to those punishments. The

<sup>1</sup> The history of an abortive attempt to legislate on this subject will be found in the *Commons' Journals* of 1693.

fashion changed ; and during the last century and a half there has perhaps not been a single instance of this particular kind of wickedness.

The explanation is simple. Oates was the founder of a school. His success proved that no romance is too wild to be received with faith by understandings which fear and hatred have disordered. His slanders were monstrous : but they were well timed : he spoke to a people made credulous by their passions ; and thus, by impudent and cruel lying, he raised himself in a week from beggary and obscurity to luxury, renown, and power. He had once eked out the small tithes of a miserable vicarage by stealing the pigs and fowls of his parishioners.<sup>1</sup> He was now lodged in a palace : he was followed by admiring crowds : he had at his mercy the estates and lives of Howards and Herberts. A crowd of imitators instantly appeared. It seemed that much more might be got, and that much less was risked, by testifying to an imaginary conspiracy than by robbing on the highway or clipping the coin. Accordingly, the Bedloes, Dangerfields, Dugdales, Turberviles, made haste to transfer their industry to an employment at once more profitable and less perilous than any to which they were accustomed. Till the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, Popish plots were the chief manufacture. Then, during seven years, Whig plots were the only plots which paid. After the Revolution, Jacobite plots came in : but the public had become cautious ; and, though the new false witnesses were in no respect less artful than their predecessors, they found much less encour-

<sup>1</sup> North's *Examen*.



agement. The history of the first great check given to the practices of this abandoned race of men well deserves to be circumstantially related.

In 1689, and in the beginning of 1690, William Fuller had rendered to the government service such as the best governments sometimes require, and such as none but the worst men ever perform. His useful treachery had been rewarded by his employers, as was meet, with money and with contempt. Their liberality enabled him to live during some months like a fine gentleman. He called himself a colonel, hired servants, clothed them in gorgeous liveries, bought fine horses, lodged in Pall Mall, and showed his brazen forehead, overtopped by a wig worth fifty guineas, in the ante-chambers of the palace and in the stage-box at the theatre. He even gave himself the airs of a favorite of royalty, and, as if he thought that William could not live without him, followed His Majesty first to Ireland, and then to the Congress of Princes at the Hague. The vagabond afterward boasted that, at the Hague, he appeared with a retinue fit for an ambassador, that he gave ten guineas a week for an apartment, and that the worst waistcoat which he condescended to wear was of silver stuff at forty shillings the yard. Such profusion, of course, brought him to poverty. Soon after his return to England he took refuge from the bailiffs in Axe Yard, a place lying within the verge of Whitehall. His fortunes were desperate : he owed great sums : on the government he had no claim : his past services had been overpaid : no future service was to be expected from him : having appeared in the witness-box as evidence for the crown, he could no longer be of any use as a spy on the

Jacobites ; and by all men of virtue and honor, to whatever party they might belong, he was abhorred and shunned.

Just at this time, when he was in the frame of mind in which men are open to the worst temptations, he fell in with the worst of tempters—in truth, with the Devil in human shape. Oates had obtained his liberty, his pardon, and a pension, which made him a much richer man than nineteen-twentieths of the members of that profession of which he was the disgrace. But he was still unsatisfied. He complained that he had now less than three hundred a year. In the golden days of the Plot he had been allowed three times as much, had been sumptuously lodged in the palace, had dined on plate, and had been clothed in silk. He clamored for an increase of his stipend. Nay, he was even impudent enough to aspire to ecclesiastical preferment, and thought it hard that, while so many mitres were distributed, he could not get a deanery, a prebend, or even a rectory. He missed no opportunity of urging his pretensions. He haunted the public offices and the lobbies of the Houses of Parliament. He might be seen and heard every day, hurrying, as fast as his uneven legs would carry him, between Charing Cross and Westminster Hall, puffing with haste and self-importance, chattering about what he had done for the good cause, and reviling, in the style of the boatmen on the river, all the statesmen and divines whom he suspected of doing him ill offices at court, and keeping him back from a bishopric. When he found that there was no hope for him in the Established Church, he turned to the Baptists. They at first received him very coldly ; but he gave such touching accounts of the wonderful

work of grace which had been wrought in his soul, and vowed so solemnly, before Jehovah and the holy angels, to be thenceforth a burning and shining light, that it was difficult for simple and well-meaning people to think him altogether insincere. He mourned, he said, like a turtle. On one Lord's-day he thought he should have died of grief at being shut out from fellowship with the saints. He was at length admitted to communion : but, before he had been a year among his new friends, they discovered his true character, and solemnly cast him out as a hypocrite. Thenceforth he became the mortal enemy of the leading Baptists, and persecuted them with the same treachery, the same mendacity, the same effrontery, the same black malice, which had, many years before, wrought the destruction of more celebrated victims. Those who had lately been edified by his account of his blessed experiences stood aghast to hear him crying out that he would be revenged, that revenge was God's own sweet morsel, that the wretches who had excommunicated him should be ruined, that they should be forced to fly their country, that they should be stripped to the last shilling. His designs were at length frustrated by a righteous decree of the Court of Chancery, a decree which would have left a deep stain on the character of an ordinary man, but which makes no perceptible addition to the infamy of Titus Oates.<sup>1</sup> Through all changes, however, he was surrounded by a small knot of hot-headed and foul-mouthed agitators, who, abhorred and despised by every respectable Whig, yet called themselves Whigs, and thought themselves injured because they were not re-

<sup>1</sup> North's *Examen*; Ward's *London Spy*; Crosby's *English Baptists*, vol. iii., chap. 2.

warded for scurrility and slander with the best places under the crown.

In 1691, Titus, in order to be near the focal point of political intrigue and faction, had taken a house within the precinct of Whitehall. To this house Fuller, who lived hard by, found admission. The evil work, which had been begun in him, when he was still a child, by the memoirs of Dangerfield, was now completed by the conversation of Oates. The Salamanca Doctor was, as a witness, no longer formidable ; but he was impelled, partly by the savage malignity which he felt toward all whom he considered as his enemies, and partly by mere monkey-like restlessness and love of mischief, to do, through the instrumentality of others, what he could no longer do in person. In Fuller he had found the corrupt heart, the ready tongue, and the unabashed front, which are the first qualifications for the office of a false accuser. A friendship, if that word may be so used, sprang up between the pair. Oates opened his house, and even his purse, to Fuller. The veteran sinner, both directly and through the agency of his dependents, intimated to the novice that nothing made a man so important as the discovering of a plot, and that these were times when a young fellow who would stick at nothing and fear nobody might do wonders. The Revolution—such was the language constantly held by Titus and his parasites—had produced little good. The brisk boys of Shaftesbury had not been recompensed according to their merits. Even the Doctor—such was the ingratitude of men—was looked on coldly at the new court. Tory rogues sat at the Council-board, and were admitted to the royal closet. It would be a noble feat to bring their necks to the block. Above all, it

would be delightful to see Nottingham's long, solemn face on Tower Hill. For the hatred with which these bad men regarded Nottingham had no bounds, and was probably excited less by his political opinions, in which there was doubtless much to condemn, than by his moral character, in which the closest scrutiny will detect little that is not deserving of approbation. Oates, with the authority which experience and success entitled a preceptor to assume, read his pupil a lecture on the art of bearing false witness. "You ought," he said, with many oaths and curses, "to have made more, much more, out of what you heard and saw at Saint Germain's. Never was there a finer foundation for a plot. But you are a fool : you are a coxcomb : I could beat you : I would not have done so. I used to go to Charles and tell him his own. I called Lauderdale names to his face. I made King, Ministers, Lords, Commons, afraid of me. But you young men have no spirit." Fuller was greatly edified by these exhortations. It was, however, hinted to him by some of his associates that, if he meant to take up the trade of swearing away lives, he would do well not to show himself so often at coffee-houses in the company of Titus. "The Doctor," said one of the gang, "is an excellent person, and has done great things in his time : but many people are prejudiced against him ; and, if you are really going to discover a plot, the less you are seen with him the better." Fuller accordingly ceased to appear in Oates's train at public places, but still continued to receive his great master's instructions in private.

To do Fuller justice, he seems not to have taken up the trade of a false witness till he could no longer support



himself by begging or swindling. He lived for a time on the charity of the Queen. He then levied contributions by pretending to be one of the noble family of Sidney. He wheedled Tillotson out of some money, and requited the good Archbishop's kindness by passing himself off as His Grace's favorite nephew. But in the autumn of 1691 all these shifts were exhausted. After lying in several spunging-houses, Fuller was at length lodged in the King's Bench prison, and he now thought it time to announce that he had discovered a plot.<sup>1</sup>

He addressed himself to Tillotson and Portland : but both Tillotson and Portland soon perceived that he was lying. What he said was, however, reported to the King, who, as might have been expected, treated the information and the informer with cold contempt. All that remained was to try whether a flame could be raised in the Parliament.

Soon after the Houses met, Fuller petitioned the Commons to hear what he had to say, and promised to make wonderful disclosures. He was brought from his prison to the bar of the House ; and he there repeated a long romance. James, he said, had delegated the regal authority to six commissioners, of whom Halifax was first. More than fifty lords and gentlemen had signed an address to the French King, imploring him to make a great effort for the restoration of the House of Stuart. Fuller declared that he had seen this address, and recounted many of the names appended to it. Some members made severe remarks on the improbability of the story and on the character of the wit-

<sup>1</sup> The history of this part of Fuller's life I have taken from his own narrative.

ness. He is, it was said, one of the greatest rogues on the face of the earth ; and he tells such things as could scarcely be credited if they were told by an angel from heaven. Fuller audaciously pledged himself to bring proofs which would satisfy the most incredulous. He was, he averred, in communication with some agents of James. Those persons were ready to make reparation to their country. Their testimony would be decisive ; for they were in possession of documentary evidence which would confound the guilty. They held back only because they saw some of the traitors high in office and near the royal person, and were afraid of incurring the enmity of men so powerful and so wicked. Fuller ended by asking for a sum of money, and by assuring the Commons that he would lay it out to good account.<sup>1</sup> Had his impudent request been granted, he would probably have paid his debts, obtained his liberty, and absconded : but the House very wisely insisted on seeing his witnesses first. He then began to shuffle. The gentlemen were on the Continent, and could not come over without passports. Passports were delivered to him : but he complained that they were insufficient. At length, the Commons, fully determined to get at the truth, presented an address requesting the King to send Fuller a blank safe-conduct in the largest terms.<sup>2</sup> The safe-conduct was sent. Six weeks passed, and nothing was heard of the witnesses. The friends of the lords and gentlemen who had been accused represented strongly that the House ought not to separate for the summer without coming to some decision on charges so grave. Fuller was ordered to

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Dec. 2 and 9, 1691 ; *Grey's Debates*.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Jan. 4, 169½ ; *Grey's Debates*.

attend. He pleaded sickness, and asserted, not for the first time, that the Jacobites had poisoned him. But all his plans were confounded by the laudable promptitude and vigor with which the Commons acted. A committee was sent to his bedside, with orders to ascertain whether he really had any witnesses, and where those witnesses resided. The members who were deputed for this purpose went to the King's Bench prison, and found him suffering under a disorder, produced, in all probability, by some emetic which he had swallowed for the purpose of deceiving them. In answer to their questions, he said that two of his witnesses, Delaval and Hayes, were in England, and were lodged at the house of a Roman Catholic apothecary in Holborn. The Commons, as soon as the Committee had reported, sent some members to the house which he had indicated. That house and all the neighboring houses were searched. Delaval and Hayes were not to be found ; nor had anybody in the vicinity ever seen such men or heard of them. The House, therefore, on the last day of the session, just before Black Rod knocked at the door, unanimously resolved that William Fuller was a cheat and a false accuser ; that he had insulted the Government and the Parliament ; that he had calumniated honorable men ; and that an address should be carried up to the throne, requesting that he might be prosecuted for his villainy.<sup>1</sup> He was consequently tried, convicted, and sentenced to fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. The exposure, more terrible than death to a mind not lost to all sense of shame, he underwent with a hardihood worthy of his two favorite models, Dangerfield and Oates. He had

<sup>1</sup> *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 22, 23, and 24, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

the impudence to persist, year after year, in affirming that he had fallen a victim to the machinations of the late King, who had spent six thousand pounds in order to ruin him. Delaval and Hayes—so this fable ran—had been instructed by James in person. They had, in obedience to his orders, induced Fuller to pledge his word for their appearance, and had then absented themselves, and left him exposed to the resentment of the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup> The story had the reception which it deserved ; and Fuller sank into an obscurity from which he twice or thrice, at long intervals, again emerged for a moment into infamy.

On the twenty-fourth of February, 1692, about an hour after the Commons had voted Fuller an impostor, they were summoned to the chamber of the Lords. The King thanked the Houses for their loyalty and liberality, informed them that he must soon set out for the Continent, and commanded them to adjourn themselves. He gave his assent on that day to many bills, public and private ; but when the title of one bill, which had passed the Lower House without a single division and the Upper House without a single protest, had been read by the clerk of the crown, the clerk of the parliaments answered, according to the ancient form, that the King and the Queen would consider of the matter. Those words had very rarely been pronounced before the accession of William. They have been pronounced only once since his death. But by him the power of putting a veto on laws which had been passed by the Estates of the Realm was used on

Close of the session : bill for ascertaining the salaries of the Judges rejected.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Original Letters of the Late King James and others to his greatest Friends in England*.

several important occasions. His detractors truly asserted that he rejected a greater number of important bills than all the Kings of the House of Stuart put together, and most absurdly inferred that the sense of the Estates of the Realm was much less respected by him than by his uncles and his grandfather. A judicious student of history will have no difficulty in discovering why William repeatedly exercised a prerogative to which his predecessors very seldom had recourse, and which his successors have suffered to fall into utter desuetude.

His predecessors passed laws easily because they broke laws easily. Charles the First gave his assent to the Petition of Right, and immediately violated every clause of that great statute. Charles the Second gave his assent to an act which provided that a Parliament should be held at least once in three years : but when he died the country had been near four years without a Parliament. The laws which abolished the Court of High Commission, the laws which instituted the Sacramental Test, were passed without the smallest difficulty : but they did not prevent James the Second from re-establishing the Court of High Commission, and from filling the Privy Council, the public offices, the courts of justice, and the municipal corporations with persons who had never taken the Test. Nothing could be more natural than that a king should not think it worth while to refuse his assent to a statute with which he could dispense whenever he thought fit.

The situation of William was very different. He could not, like those who had ruled before him, pass an act in the spring and violate it in the summer. He



had, by assenting to the Bill of Rights, solemnly renounced the dispensing power ; and he was restrained, by prudence as well as by conscience and honor, from breaking the compact under which he held his crown. A law might be personally offensive to him : it might appear to him to be pernicious to his people : but, as soon as he had passed it, it was, in his eyes, a sacred thing. He had, therefore, a motive, which preceding kings had not, for pausing before he passed such a law. They gave their word readily, because they had no scruple about breaking it. He gave his word slowly, because he never failed to keep it.

But his situation, though it differed widely from that of the princes of the House of Stuart, was not precisely that of the princes of the House of Brunswick. A prince of the House of Brunswick is guided, as to the use of every royal prerogative, by the advice of a responsible ministry ; and this ministry must be taken from the party which predominates in the two Houses, or, at least, in the Lower House. It is hardly possible to conceive circumstances in which a Sovereign so situated can refuse to assent to a bill which has been approved by both branches of the legislature. Such a refusal would necessarily imply one of two things, that the Sovereign acted in opposition to the advice of the ministry, or that the ministry was at issue, on a question of vital importance, with a majority both of the Commons and of the Lords. On either supposition the country would be in a most critical state, in a state which, if long continued, must end in revolution. But in the earlier part of the reign of William there was no ministry. The heads of the executive departments had not been appointed exclusively from either party.

Some were zealous Whigs, others zealous Tories. The most enlightened statesmen did not hold it to be unconstitutional that the King should exercise his highest prerogative on the most important occasions without any other guidance than that of his own judgment. His refusal, therefore, to assent to a bill which had passed both Houses indicated, not, as a similar refusal would now indicate, that the whole machinery of government was in a state of fearful disorder, but merely that there was a difference of opinion between him and the two other branches of the legislature as to the expediency of a particular law. Such a difference of opinion might exist, and, as we shall hereafter see, actually did exist, at a time when he was not merely on friendly but on most affectionate terms with the Estates of the Realm.

The circumstances under which he used his Veto for the first time have never yet been correctly stated. A well-meant, but unskilful attempt had been made to complete a reform which the Bill of Rights had left imperfect. That great law had deprived the crown of the power of arbitrarily removing the Judges, but had not made them entirely independent. They were remunerated partly by fees and partly by salaries. Over the fees the King had no control : but the salaries he had full power to reduce or to withhold. That William had ever abused this power was not pretended : but it was undoubtedly a power which no prince ought to possess ; and this was the sense of both Houses. A bill was therefore brought in by which a salary of a thousand a year was strictly secured to each of the twelve Judges. Thus far all was well. But, unfortunately, the salaries were made a charge on the heredi-

tary revenue. No such proposition would now be entertained by the House of Commons, without the royal consent previously signified by a privy councillor. But this wholesome rule had not then been established ; and William could defend the proprietary rights of the crown only by putting his negative on the bill. At the time there was, as far as can now be ascertained, no outcry. Even the Jacobite libellers were almost silent. It was not till the provisions of the bill had been forgotten, and till nothing but its title was remembered, that William was accused of having been influenced by a wish to keep the judges in a state of dependence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 86. Burnet had evidently forgotten what the bill contained. Ralph knew nothing about it but what he had learned from Burnet. I have scarcely seen any allusion to the subject in any of the numerous Jacobite lampoons of that day. But there is a remarkable passage in a pamphlet which appeared toward the close of William's reign, and which is entitled *The Art of Governing by Parties*. The writer says, "We still want an Act to ascertain some fund for the salaries of the judges; and there was a bill, since the Revolution, past both Houses of Parliament to this purpose : but whether it was for being any way defective or otherwise that His Majesty refused to assent to it, I cannot remember. But I know the reason satisfied me at that time. And I make no doubt that he'll consent to any good bill of this nature whenever 't is offered." These words convinced me that the bill was open to some grave objection which did not appear in the title, and which no historian has noticed. I found among the archives of the House of Lords the original parchment, endorsed with the words "Le Roy et La Royne s'aviseront" ; and it was clear at the first glance what the objection was.

There is a hiatus in that part of Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary* which relates to this matter. "The King," he wrote, "passed

The Houses broke up ; and the King prepared to set out for the Continent. Before his departure he made some changes in his household and in several departments of the government, **Ministerial changes in England.** changes, however, which did not indicate a very decided preference for either of the great political parties. Rochester was sworn of the Council. It is probable that he had earned this mark of royal favor by taking the Queen's side in the unhappy dispute between her and her sister. Pembroke took charge of the Privy Seal, and was succeeded at the Board of Admiralty by Charles, Lord Cornwallis, a moderate Tory : Lowther accepted a seat at the same board, and was succeeded at the Treasury by Sir Edward Seymour. Many Tory country gentlemen, who had looked on Seymour as their leader in the war against placemen and Dutchmen, were moved to indignation by learning that he had become a courtier. They remembered that he had voted for a regency, that he had taken the oaths with no good grace, and that he had spoken with little respect of the Sovereign whom he was now ready to serve for the sake of emoluments hardly worthy of the acceptance of a man of his wealth and parliamentary interest. It was strange that the haughtiest of human ten public bills and thirty-four private ones, and rejected that of the—— ”

As to the present practice of the House of Commons in such cases, see Hatsell's valuable work, ii., 356. I quote the edition of 1818. Hatsell says that many bills which affect the interest of the crown may be brought in without any signification of the royal consent, and that it is enough if the consent be signified on the second reading, or even later ; but that, in a proceeding which affects the hereditary revenue, the consent must be signified in the earliest stage.

beings should be the meanest, that one who seemed to reverence nothing on earth but himself should abase himself for the sake of quarter-day. About such reflections he troubled himself very little. He found, however, that there was one disagreeable circumstance connected with his new office. At the Board of Treasury he must sit below the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The First Lord, Godolphin, was a peer of the realm ; and his right to precedence, according to the rules of the heralds, could not be questioned. But everybody knew who was the first of English commoners. What was Richard Hampden that he should take place of a Seymour, of the head of the Seymours ? With much difficulty, the dispute was compromised. Many concessions were made to Sir Edward's punctilious pride. He was sworn of the Council. He was appointed one of the Cabinet. The King took him by the hand and presented him to the Queen. "I bring you," said William, "a gentleman who will in my absence be a valuable friend." In this way Sir Edward was so much soothed and flattered that he ceased to insist on his right to thrust himself between the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the same Commission of Treasury in which the name of Seymour appeared, appeared also the name of a much younger politician, who had, during the late session, raised himself to high distinction in the House of Commons, Charles Montague. This appointment gave great satisfaction to the Whigs, in whose esteem Montague now stood higher than their veteran chiefs Sacheverell and Powle, and was, indeed, second to Somers alone.

Sidney delivered up the seals which he had held



during more than a year, and was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Some months elapsed before the place which he had quitted was filled up ; and during this interval the whole business which had ordinarily been divided between two Secretaries of State was transacted by Nottingham.<sup>1</sup>

While these arrangements were in progress, events had taken place in a distant part of the island, which were not, till after the lapse of many months, known in the best informed circles of London, but which gradually obtained a fearful notoriety, and which, after the lapse of more than a hundred and sixty years, are never mentioned without horror.

Soon after the Estates of Scotland had separated in the autumn of 1690, a change was made in the administration of that kingdom. William was not satisfied with the way in which he had been represented in the Parliament-house. He thought that the rabbled curates had been hardly treated. He had very reluctantly suffered the law which abolished patronage to be touched with his sceptre. But what especially displeased him was that the acts which established a new ecclesiastical polity had not been accompanied by an act granting liberty of conscience to those who were attached to the old ecclesiastical polity. He had directed his Commissioner Melville to obtain for the Episcopalians of Scotland an indulgence similar to that which Dissenters enjoyed in England.<sup>2</sup> But the Pres-

<sup>1</sup> The history of these ministerial arrangements I have taken chiefly from the *London Gazette* of March 3 and March 7, 169½, and from Narcissus Luttrell's *Diary* for that month. Two or three slight touches are from contemporary pamphlets.

<sup>2</sup> William to Melville, May 22, 1690.

byterian preachers were loud and vehement against lenity to Amalekites. Melville, with useful talents, and perhaps with fair intentions, had neither large views nor an intrepid spirit. He shrank from uttering a word so hateful to the theological demagogues of his country as Toleration. By obsequiously humoring their prejudices he quelled the clamor which was rising at Edinburgh ; but the effect of his timid caution was that a far more formidable clamor soon rose in the south of the island against the bigotry of the schismatics who domineered in the North, and against the pusillanimity of the government which had not dared to withstand that bigotry. On this subject the High-Churchman and the Low-Churchman were of one mind, or rather the Low-Churchman was the more angry of the two. A man like South, who had during many years been predicting that, if ever the Puritans ceased to be oppressed, they would become oppressors, was at heart not ill-pleased to see his prophecy fulfilled. But in a man like Burnet, the great object of whose life had been to mitigate the animosity which the ministers of the Anglican Church felt toward the Presbyterians, the intolerant conduct of the Presbyterians could awaken no feeling but indignation, shame, and grief. There was, therefore, at the English court nobody to speak a good word for Melville. It was impossible that in such circumstances he should remain at the head of the Scottish administration. He was, however, gently let down from his high position. He continued during more than a year to be Secretary of State : but another Secretary was appointed, who was to reside near the King, and to have the chief direction of affairs. The new Prime Minister for Scotland was the able,

eloquent, and accomplished Sir John Dalrymple. His father, the Lord President of the Court of Sessions, had lately been raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Stair; and Sir John Dalrymple was consequently, according to the ancient usage of Scotland, designated as the Master of Stair. In a few months Melville resigned his secretaryship, and accepted an office of some dignity and emolument, but of no political importance.<sup>1</sup>

The Lowlands of Scotland were, during the year which followed the parliamentary session of 1690, as quiet as they had ever been within the memory of man : but the state of the Highlands caused much anxiety to the government. The civil war in that wild region, after it had ceased to flame, had continued during some time to smoulder. At length, early in the year 1691, the rebel chiefs informed the court of Saint Germain that, pressed as they were on every side, they could hold out no longer without succor from France. James had sent them a small quantity of meal, brandy, and tobacco, and had frankly told them that he could do nothing more. Money was so scarce among them that six hundred pounds sterling would have been a most acceptable addition to their funds : but even such a sum he was unable to spare. He could scarcely, in such circumstances, expect them to defend his cause

<sup>1</sup> See the preface to the *Leven and Melville Papers*. I have given what I believe to be a true explanation of Burnet's hostility to Melville. Melville's descendant, who has deserved well of all students of history by the diligence and fidelity with which he has performed his editorial duties, thinks that Burnet's judgment was blinded by zeal for Prelacy and hatred of Presbyterianism. This accusation will surprise and amuse English High-Churchmen.

against a government which had a regular army and a large revenue. He therefore informed them that he should not take it ill of them if they made their peace with the new dynasty, provided always that they were prepared to rise in insurrection as soon as he should call on them to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile it had been determined at Kensington, in spite of the opposition of the Master of Stair, to try the plan which Tarbet had recommended two years before, and which, if it had been tried when he recommended it, would probably have prevented much bloodshed and confusion. It was resolved that twelve or fifteen thousand pounds should be laid out in quieting the Highlands. This was a mass of treasure which to an inhabitant of Appin or Lochaber seemed almost fabulous, and which, indeed, bore a greater proportion to the income of Keppoch or Glengarry than fifteen hundred thousand pounds bore to the income of Lord Bedford or Lord Devonshire. The sum was ample; but the King was not fortunate in the choice of an agent.<sup>2</sup>

John, Earl of Breadalbane, the head of a younger branch of the great house of Campbell, ranked high among the petty princes of the mountains. He could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field; and, ten years before the Revolution, he had actually marched into the Lowlands with this great force for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny.<sup>3</sup> In those days he had affected zeal for monarchy and epis-

Breadalbane  
employed to  
negotiate  
with the  
rebel clans.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii., 468, 469.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, ii., 88; Master of Stair to Breadalbane, Dec. 2, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, i., 418.

copacy : but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council-chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption. After the Revolution he had, like too many of his fellow-nobles, joined and betrayed every party in turn, had sworn fealty to William and Mary, and had plotted against them. To trace all the turns and doublings of his course, during the year 1689 and the earlier part of 1690, would be wearisome.<sup>1</sup> That course became somewhat less tortuous when the battle of the Boyne had cowed the spirit of the Jacobites. It now seemed probable that the Earl would be a loyal subject of their Majesties, till some great disaster should befall them. Nobody who knew him could trust him : but few Scottish statesmen could then be trusted ; and yet Scottish statesmen must be employed. His position and connection marked him out as a man who might, if he would, do much toward the work of quieting the Highlands ; and his interest seemed to be a guarantee for his zeal. He had, as he declared with every appearance of truth, strong personal reasons for wishing to see tranquillity restored. His domains were so situated that, while the civil war lasted, his vassals could not tend their herds or sow their oats in peace. His lands were daily ravaged : his cattle were daily driven away : one of his houses had been burned down. It

<sup>1</sup> Crawford to Melville, July 23, 1689 ; the Master of Stair to Melville, Aug. 16, 1689 ; Cardross to Melville, Sept. 9, 1689 ; Balcarras's *Memoirs* ; Annandale's Confession, Aug. 14, 1690.



was probable, therefore, that he would do his best to put an end to hostilities.<sup>1</sup>

He was accordingly commissioned to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and was intrusted with the money which was to be distributed among them. He invited them to a conference at his residence in Glenorchy. They came: but the treaty went on very slowly. Every head of a tribe asked for a larger share of the English gold than was to be obtained. Breadalbane was suspected of intending to cheat both the King and the clans. The dispute between the rebels and the government was complicated with another dispute still more embarrassing. The Camerons and Macdonalds were really at war, not with William, but with Mac Callum More; and no arrangement to which Mac Callum More was not a party could really produce tranquillity. A grave question therefore arose, whether the money intrusted to Breadalbane should be paid directly to the discontented chiefs, or should be employed to satisfy the claims which Argyle had upon them. The shrewdness of Lochiel and the arrogant pretensions of Glengarry contributed to protract the discussions. But no Celtic potentate was so impracticable as Macdonald of Glencoe, known among the mountains by the hereditary appellation of Mac Ian.<sup>2</sup>

Mac Ian dwelt in the mouth of a ravine situated not far from the southern shore of Lochleven, an arm of the sea which deeply indents the western coast of Scotland, and separates Argyleshire  
Glencoe.

<sup>1</sup> Breadalbane to Melville, Sept. 17, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> The Master of Stair to Hamilton, Aug.  $\frac{17}{27}$ , 1691; Hill to Melville, June 26, 1691; the Master of Stair to Breadalbane, Aug. 24, 1691.

from Inverness-shire. Near his house were two or three small hamlets inhabited by his tribe. The whole population which he governed was not supposed to exceed two hundred souls. In the neighborhood of the little cluster of villages was some copse-wood and some pasture-land : but a little farther up the defile no sign of population or of fruitfulness was to be seen. In the Gaelic tongue, Glencoe signifies the Glen of Weeping : and, in truth, that pass is the most dreary and melancholy of all the Scottish passes, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death. Mists and storms brood over it through the greater part of the finest summer ; and even on those rare days when the sun is bright, and when there is no cloud in the sky, the impression made by the landscape is sad and awful. The path lies along a stream which issues from the most sullen and gloomy of mountain pools. Huge precipices of naked stone frown on both sides. Even in July the streaks of snow may often be discerned in the rifts near the summits. All down the sides of the crags heaps of ruin mark the headlong paths of the torrents. Mile after mile the traveller looks in vain for the smoke of one hut, or for one human form wrapped in a plaid, and listens in vain for the bark of a shepherd's dog or the bleat of a lamb. Mile after mile the only sound that indicates life is the faint cry of a bird of prey from some storm-beaten pinnacle of rock. The progress of civilization, which has turned so many wastes into fields yellow with harvests or gay with apple-blossoms, has only made Glencoe more desolate. All the science and industry of a peaceful age can extract nothing valuable from that wilderness : but, in an age of violence and rapine, the wilderness itself was valued on account of

the shelter which it afforded to the plunderer and his plunder. Nothing could be more natural than that the clan to which this rugged desert belonged should have been noted for predatory habits. For, among the Highlanders generally, to rob was thought at least as honorable an employment as to cultivate the soil ; and, of all the Highlanders, the Macdonalds of Glencoe had the least productive soil, and the most convenient and secure den of robbers. Successive governments had tried to punish this wild race : but no large force had ever been employed for that purpose ; and a small force was easily resisted or eluded by men familiar with every recess and every outlet of the natural fortress in which they had been born and bred. The people of Glencoe would probably have been less troublesome neighbors if they had lived among their own kindred. But they were an outpost of the Clan Donald, separated from every other branch of their own family, and almost surrounded by the domains of the hostile race of Diarmid.<sup>1</sup> They were impelled by hereditary enmity, as well as by want, to live at the expense of the tribe of Campbell. Breadalbane's property had suffered greatly from their depredations ;

<sup>1</sup> "The real truth is, they were a branch of the Macdonalds (who were a brave, courageous people always), seated among the Campbells, who (I mean the Glencoe men) are all Papists, if they have any religion, were always counted a people much given to rapine and plunder, or sorners as we call it, and much of a piece with your highwaymen in England. Several governments desired to bring them to justice ; but their country was inaccessible to small parties." See *An Impartial Account of some of the Transactions in Scotland concerning the Earl of Breadalbane, Viscount and Master of Stair, Glenco Men, &c.*, London, 1695.

and he was not of a temper to forgive such injuries. When, therefore, the Chief of Glencoe made his appearance at the Congress in Glenorchy, he was ungraciously received. The Earl, who ordinarily bore himself with the solemn dignity of a Castilian grandee, forgot, in his resentment, his wonted gravity, forgot his public character, forgot the laws of hospitality, and, with angry reproaches and menaces, demanded reparation for the herds which had been driven from his lands by Mac Ian's followers. Mac Ian was seriously apprehensive of some personal outrage, and was glad to get safe back to his own glen.<sup>1</sup> His pride had been wounded ; and the promptings of interest concurred with those of pride. As the head of a people who lived by pillage, he had strong reasons for wishing that the country might continue in a perturbed state. He had little chance of receiving one guinea of the money which was to be distributed among the malcontents. For his share of that money would scarcely meet Breadalbane's demands for compensation ; and there could be little doubt that, whoever might be unpaid, Breadalbane would take care to pay himself. Mac Ian, therefore, did his best to dissuade his allies from accepting terms from which he could himself expect no benefit ; and his influence was not small. His own vassals, indeed, were few in number : but he came of the best blood of the Highlands : he kept up a close connection with his more powerful kinsmen ; nor did they like him the less because he was a robber ; for he never robbed them ; and that robbery, merely as robbery, was a wicked and disgraceful act, had never

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Commissioners, signed at Holyrood, June 20, 1695.

entered into the mind of any Celtic chief. Mac Ian was therefore held in high esteem by the confederates. His age was venerable ; his aspect was majestic ; and he possessed in large measure those intellectual qualities which, in rude societies, give men an ascendancy over their fellows. Breadalbane found himself, at every step of the negotiation, thwarted by the arts of his old enemy, and abhorred the name of Glencoe more and more every day.<sup>1</sup>

But the government did not trust solely to Breadalbane's diplomatic skill. The authorities at Edinburgh put forth a proclamation exhorting the clans to submit to King William and Queen Mary, and offering pardon to every rebel who, on or before the thirty-first of December, 1691, should swear to live peaceably under the government of their Majesties. It was announced that those who should hold out after that day would be treated as enemies and traitors.<sup>2</sup> Warlike preparations were made, which showed that the threat was meant in earnest. The Highlanders were alarmed, and, though the pecuniary terms had not been satisfactorily settled, thought it prudent to give the pledge which was demanded of them. No chief, indeed, was willing to set the example of submission. Glengarry blustered, and pretended to fortify his house.<sup>3</sup> " I will not," said Lochiel, " break the ice. That is a point of honor with me. But my tacksmen and people may use their freedom." <sup>4</sup> His tacksmen and people understood him,

<sup>1</sup> *Gallienus Redivivus* ; Burnet, ii., 88 ; Report of the Commission of 1695.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Glencoe Commission, 1695.

<sup>3</sup> Hill to Melville, May 15, 1691.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, June 3, 1691.



and repaired by hundreds to the Sheriff to take the oaths. The Macdonalds of Sleat, Clanronald, Keppoch, and even Glengarry, imitated the Camerons ; and the chiefs, after trying to outstay each other as long as they durst, imitated their vassals.

The thirty-first of December arrived : and still the Macdonalds of Glencoe had not come in. The punctilious pride of Mac Ian was doubtless gratified by the thought that he had continued to defy the government after the boastful Glengarry, the ferocious Keppoch, the magnanimous Lochiel had yielded : but he bought his gratification dear.

At length, on the thirty-first of December, he repaired to Fort William, accompanied by his principal vassals, and offered to take the oaths. To his dismay, he found that there was in the fort no person competent to administer them. Colonel Hill, the Governor, was not a magistrate ; nor was there any magistrate nearer than Inverary. Mac Ian, now fully sensible of the folly of which he had been guilty in postponing to the very last moment an act on which his life and his estate depended, set off for Inverary in great distress. He carried with him a letter from Hill to the Sheriff of Argyleshire, Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, a respectable gentleman, who, in the late reign, had suffered severely for his Whig principles. In this letter the Colonel expressed a good-natured hope that, even out of season, a lost sheep, and so fine a lost sheep, would be gladly received. Mac Ian made all the haste in his power, and did not stop even at his own house, though it lay nigh to the road. But in that age a journey through Argyleshire in the depth of winter was necessarily slow. The old man's progress up steep mountains

and along boggy valleys was obstructed by snow-storms ; and it was not till the sixth of January that he presented himself before the Sheriff of Inverary. The Sheriff hesitated. His power, he said, was limited by the terms of the proclamation ; and he did not see how he could swear a rebel who had not submitted within the prescribed time. Mac Ian begged earnestly, and with tears, that he might be sworn. His people, he said, would follow his example. If any of them proved refractory, he would himself send the recusant to prison, or ship him off for Flanders. His entreaties and Hill's letter overcame Sir Colin's scruples. The oath was administered ; and a certificate was transmitted to the Council at Edinburgh, setting forth the special circumstances which had induced the Sheriff to do what he knew not to be strictly regular.<sup>1</sup>

The news that Mac Ian had not submitted within the prescribed time was received with cruel joy by three powerful Scotchmen who were then at the English court. Breadalbane had gone up to London at Christmas in order to give an account of his stewardship. There he met his kinsman Argyle. Argyle was, in personal qualities, one of the most insignificant of the long line of nobles who have borne that great name. He was the descendant of eminent men, and the parent of eminent men. He was the grandson of one of the ablest of Scottish politicians ; the son of one of the bravest and most true-hearted of Scottish patriots ; the father of one Mac Callum More renowned as a warrior

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 8, 9 ; Report of the Glencoe Commission. The authorities quoted in this part of the Report were the depositions of Hill, of Campbell of Ardkinglass, and of Mac Ian's two sons.

and as an orator, as the model of every courtly grace, and as the judicious patron of arts and letters, and of another Mac Callum More distinguished by talents for business and command, and by skill in the exact sciences. Both of such an ancestry and of such a progeny Argyle was unworthy. He had even been guilty of the crime, common enough among Scottish politicians, but in him singularly disgraceful, of tampering with the agents of James while professing loyalty to William. Still Argyle had the importance inseparable from high rank, vast domains, extensive feudal rights, and almost boundless patriarchal authority. To him, as to his cousin Breadalbane, the intelligence that the tribe of Glencoe was out of the protection of the law was most gratifying ; and the Master of Stair more than sympathized with them both.

The feeling of Argyle and Breadalbane is perfectly intelligible. They were the heads of a great clan ; and they had an opportunity of destroying a neighboring clan with which they were at deadly feud. Breadalbane had received peculiar provocation. His estate had been repeatedly devastated ; and he had just been thwarted in a negotiation of high moment. Unhappily there was scarcely any excess of ferocity for which a precedent could not be found in Celtic tradition. Among all warlike barbarians revenge is esteemed the most sacred of duties and the most exquisite of pleasures ; and so it had long been esteemed among the Highlanders. The history of the clans abounds with frightful tales, some perhaps fabulous or exaggerated, some certainly true, of vindictive massacres and assassinations. The Macdonalds of Glengarry, for example, having been affronted by the people of a parish near

Inverness, surrounded the parish church on a Sunday, shut the doors, and burned the whole congregation alive. While the flames were raging, the hereditary musician of the murderers mocked the shrieks of the perishing crowd with the notes of his bag-pipe.<sup>1</sup> A band of Macgregors, having cut off the head of an enemy, laid it, the mouth filled with bread and cheese, on his sister's table, and had the satisfaction of seeing her go mad with horror at the sight. They then carried the ghastly trophy in triumph to their chief. The whole clan met under the roof of an ancient church. Every one in turn laid his hand on the dead man's scalp, and vowed to defend the slayers.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Eigg seized some Macleods, bound them hand and foot, and turned them adrift in a boat to be swallowed up by the waves, or to perish of hunger. The Macleods retaliated by driving the population of Eigg into a cavern, lighting a fire at the entrance, and suffocating the whole race, men, women, and children.<sup>3</sup> It is much less strange that the two great Earls of the House of Campbell, animated by the passions of Highland chieftains, should have planned a Highland revenge, than that they should have found an accomplice, and something more than an accomplice, in the Master of Stair.

The Master of Stair was one of the first men of his time—a jurist, a statesman, a fine scholar, an eloquent orator. His polished manners and lively conversation

<sup>1</sup> Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation of the Privy Council of Scotland, Feb. 4, 1589. I give this reference on the authority of Sir Walter Scott. See the preface to *The Legend of Montrose*.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*.

were the delight of aristocratical societies ; and none who met him in such societies would have thought it possible that he could bear the chief part in any atrocious crime. His political principles were lax, yet not more lax than those of most Scotch politicians of that age. Cruelty had never been imputed to him. 'Those who most disliked him did him the justice to own that, where his schemes of policy were not concerned, he was a very good-natured man.'<sup>1</sup> There is not the slightest reason to believe that he gained a single pound Scots by the act which has covered his name with infamy. He had no personal reason to wish the Glencoe men any ill. There had been no feud between them and his family. His property lay in a district where their tartan was never seen. Yet he hated them with a hatred as fierce and implacable as if they had laid waste his fields, burned his mansion, murdered his child in the cradle.

To what cause are we to ascribe so strange an antipathy ? This question perplexed the Master's contemporaries ; and any answer which may now be offered ought to be offered with diffidence.<sup>2</sup> The most probable conjecture is that he was actuated by an inordinate, an unscrupulous, a remorseless zeal for what seemed to him to be the interest of the State. This

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> "What under heaven was the Master's byass in this matter ? I can imagine none."—*Impartial Account*, 1695. "Nor can any man of candor and ingenuity imagine that the Earl of Stair, who had neither estate, friendship, nor enmity in that country, nor so much as knowledge of these persons, and who was never noted for cruelty in his temper, should have thirsted after the blood of these wretches."—*Complete History of Europe*, 1707.



explanation may startle those who have not considered how large a proportion of the blackest crimes recorded in history is to be ascribed to ill-regulated public spirit. We daily see men do for their party, for their sect, for their country, for their favorite schemes of political and social reform, what they would not do to enrich or to avenge themselves. At a temptation directly addressed to our private cupidity or to our private animosity, whatever virtue we have takes the alarm. But virtue itself may contribute to the fall of him who imagines that it is in his power, by violating some general rule of morality, to confer an important benefit on a church, on a commonwealth, on mankind. He silences the remonstrances of conscience, and hardens his heart against the most touching spectacles of misery, by repeating to himself that his intentions are pure, that his objects are noble, that he is doing a little evil for the sake of a great good. By degrees he comes altogether to forget the turpitude of the means in the excellence of the end, and at length perpetrates without one internal twinge acts which would shock a buccaneer. There is no reason to believe that Dominic would, for the best archbishopric in Christendom, have incited ferocious marauders to plunder and slaughter a peaceful and industrious population, that Everard Digby would, for a dukedom, have blown a large assembly of people into the air, or that Robespierre would have murdered for hire one of the thousands whom he murdered from philanthropy.

The Master of Stair seems to have proposed to himself a truly great and good end, the pacification and civilization of the Highlands. He was, by the acknowledgment of those who most hated him, a man of

large views. He justly thought it monstrous that a third part of Scotland should be in a state scarcely less savage than New Guinea, that letters of fire and sword should, through a third part of Scotland, be, century after century, a species of legal process, and that no attempt should be made to apply a radical remedy to such evils. The independence affected by a crowd of petty sovereigns, the contumacious resistance which they were in the habit of offering to the authority of the crown and of the Court of Session, their wars, their robberies, their fire-raising, their practice of exacting blackmail from people more peaceable and more useful than themselves, naturally excited the disgust and indignation of an enlightened and political gownsmen, who was, both by the constitution of his mind and by the habits of his profession, a lover of law and order. His object was no less than a complete dissolution and reconstruction of society in the Highlands, such a dissolution and reconstruction as, two generations later, followed the battle of Culloden. In his view, the clans, as they existed, were the plagues of the kingdom; and of all the clans the worst was that which inhabited Glencoe. He had, it is said, been particularly struck by a frightful instance of the lawlessness and ferocity of those marauders. One of them, who had been concerned in some act of violence or rapine, had given information against his companions. He had been bound to a tree and murdered. The old chief had given the first stab; and scores of dirks had then been plunged into the wretch's body.<sup>1</sup> By the moun-

<sup>1</sup> Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs*, relates this story, without referring to any authority. His authority probably was family tradition. That reports were current in 1692 of horrible crimes

taineers such an act was probably regarded as a legitimate exercise of patriarchal jurisdiction. To the Master of Stair it seemed that people among whom such things were done and were approved ought to be treated like a pack of wolves, snared by any device, and slaughtered without mercy. He was well read in history, and doubtless knew how great rulers had, in his own and other countries, dealt with such banditti. He doubtless knew with what energy and what severity James the Fifth had put down the moss-troopers of the border, how the chief of Henderland had been hung over the gate of the castle in which he had prepared a banquet for the King ; how John Armstrong and his thirty-six horsemen, when they came forth to welcome their sovereign, had scarcely been allowed time to say a single prayer before they were all tied up and turned off. Nor probably was the Secretary ignorant of the means by which Sixtus the Fifth had cleared the ecclesiastical state of outlaws. The eulogists of that great pontiff tell us that there was one formidable gang which could not be dislodged from a stronghold among the Apennines. Beasts of burden were, therefore loaded with poisoned food and wine, and sent by a road which ran close to the fastness. The robbers sallied forth, seized the prey, feasted, and died ; and the pious old Pope exulted greatly when he heard that the corpses of thirty ruffians, who had been the terror of many peaceful villages, had been found lying among the mules and packages. The plans of the Master of

committed by the Macdonalds of Glencoe is certain from the Burnet MS., Harl., 6584. "They had, indeed, been guilty of many black murders," were Burnet's words, written in 1693. He afterward softened down this expression.

Stair were conceived in the spirit of James and of Sixtus; and the rebellion of the mountaineers furnished what seemed to be an excellent opportunity for carrying those plans into effect. Mere rebellion, indeed, he could have easily pardoned. On Jacobites, as Jacobites, he never showed any inclination to bear hard. He hated the Highlanders, not as enemies of this or that dynasty, but as enemies of law, of industry, and of trade. In his private correspondence he applied to them the short and terrible form of words in which the implacable Roman pronounced the doom of Carthage. His project was no less than this, that the whole hill country, from sea to sea, and the neighboring islands, should be wasted with fire and sword, that the Camerons, the Macleans, and all the branches of the race of Macdonald, should be rooted out. He therefore looked with no friendly eye on schemes of reconciliation, and, while others were hoping that a little money would set everything right, hinted very intelligibly his opinion that whatever money was to be laid out on the clans would be best laid out in the form of bullets and bayonets. To the last moment he continued to flatter himself that the rebels would be obstinate, and would thus furnish him with the plea for accomplishing that great social revolution on which his heart was set.<sup>1</sup> The letter is still extant in which

<sup>1</sup> That the plan originally framed by the Master of Stair was such as I have represented it, is clear from parts of his letters which are quoted in the Report of 1695, and from his letters to Breadalbane of October 27, December 2, and December 3, 1691. Of these letters to Breadalbane the last two are in Dalrymple's Appendix. The first is in the Appendix to the first volume of Burton's valuable *History of Scotland*. "It appeared," says

he directed the commander of the forces in Scotland how to act if the Jacobite chiefs should not come in before the end of December. There is something strangely terrible in the calmness and conciseness with which the instructions are given. "Your troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." <sup>1</sup>

This despatch had scarcely been sent off when news arrived in London that the rebel chiefs, after holding out long, had at last appeared before the Sheriffs and taken the oaths. Lochiel, the most eminent man among them, had not only declared that he would live and die a true subject to King William, but had announced his intention of visiting England, in the hope of being permitted to kiss His Majesty's hand. In London it was announced exultingly that all the clans had submitted; and the announcement was generally thought most satisfactory. <sup>2</sup> But the Master of Stair was bitterly disappointed. The Highlands were then to continue what they had been, the shame and curse of Scotland. A golden opportunity of subjecting them to the law had been suffered to escape, and might never return. If only the Macdonalds would have stood out, nay, if an example could but have been made of the two worst Macdonalds, Keppoch and Glencoe, it would have been something. But it seemed that even Keppoch and

Burnet (ii., 157), "that a black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons."

<sup>1</sup> This letter is in the Report of 1695.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, Jan. 14 and 18, 169½.



Glencoe, marauders who in any well-governed country would have been hanged thirty years before, were safe.<sup>1</sup> While the Master was brooding over thoughts like these, Argyle brought him some comfort. The report that Mac Ian had taken the oaths within the prescribed time was erroneous. The Secretary was consoled. One clan, then, was at the mercy of the government, and that clan the most lawless of all. One great act of justice, nay, of charity, might be performed. One terrible and memorable example might be made.<sup>2</sup>

Yet there was a difficulty. Mac Ian had taken the oaths. He had taken them, indeed, too late to be entitled to plead the letter of the royal promise : but the fact that he had taken them was one which evidently ought to have been brought under consideration before his fate was decided. By a dark intrigue, of which the history is but imperfectly known, but which was, in all probability, directed by the Master of Stair, the evidence of Mac Ian's tardy submission was suppressed. The certificate which the Sheriff of Argyleshire had transmitted to the Council at Edinburgh was never laid before the Board, but was privately submitted to some persons high in office, and particularly to Lord President Stair, the father of the Secretary. These persons pronounced the certificate irregular, and indeed absolutely null ; and it was cancelled.

Meanwhile the Master of Stair was forming, in con-

<sup>1</sup> "I could have wished the Macdonalds had not divided ; and I am sorry that Keppoch and Mackian of Glenco are safe."—Letter of the Master of Stair to Levingstone, Jan. 9, 169½, quoted in the Report of 1695.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the Master of Stair to Levingstone, Jan. 11, 169½, quoted in the Report of 1695.

cert with Breadalbane and Argyle, a plan for the destruction of the people of Glencoe. It was necessary to take the King's pleasure, not, indeed, as to the details of what was to be done, but as to the question whether Mac Ian and his people should or should not be treated as rebels out of the pale of the ordinary law. The Master of Stair found no difficulty in the royal closet. William had, in all probability, never heard the Glencoe men mentioned except as banditti. He knew that they had not come in by the prescribed day. That they had come in after that day he did not know. If he paid any attention to the matter, he must have thought that so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the devastations and deprivations from which a quiet and industrious population had suffered so much ought not to be lost.

An order was laid before him for signature. He signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, did not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and, indeed, must sign, documents which they have not read; and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down in any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend.<sup>1</sup> But, even on the supposi-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, ii., 89. Burnet, in 1693, wrote thus about William: "He suffers matters to run till there is a great heap of papers; and then he signs them as much too fast as he was before too slow in despatching them." Burnet MS., Harl., 6584. There is no sign either of procrastination or of undue haste in William's correspondence with Heinsius. The truth is that the King understood Continental politics thoroughly, and gave his

tion that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for blaming him. That order, directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus : “ As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves.” These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be put to death after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. It is in this sense that we praise the Marquess of Hastings for extirpating the Pindarees, and Lord William Bentinck for extirpating the Thugs. If the King had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his Secretary, he would probably have understood them to mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by troops ; that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand ; that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes ; that some active young freebooters, who were more used to handle the broadsword than the plough, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet laborers, were whole mind to them. To English business he attended less, and to Scotch business least of all.

to be sent to the army in the Low Countries ; that others were to be transported to the American plantations ; and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed and required to give hostages for good behavior. A plan very nearly resembling this had, we know, actually been the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that William would have deserved well of his people if he had, in this manner, extirpated, not only the tribe of Mac Ian, but every Highland tribe whose calling was to steal cattle and burn houses.

The extirpation planned by the Master of Stair was of a different kind. His design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, the whole damnable race. Such was the language in which his hatred vented itself. He studied the geography of the wild country which surrounded Glencoe, and made his arrangements with infernal skill. If possible, the blow must be quick and crushing, and altogether unexpected. But if Mac Ian should apprehend danger, and should attempt to take refuge in the territories of his neighbors, he must find every road barred. The pass of Rannoch, must be secured. The Laird of Weem, who was powerful in Strath Tay, must be told that, if he harbors the outlaws, he does so at his peril. Breadalbane promised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on one side, Mac Callum More on another. It was fortunate, the Secretary wrote, that it was winter. This was the time to maul the wretches. The nights were so long, the mountain-tops so cold and stormy, that even the hardiest men could not long bear exposure to the open

<sup>1</sup> *Impartial Account*, 1695.

air without a roof or a spark of fire. That the women and the children could find shelter in the desert was quite impossible. While he wrote thus, no thought that he was committing a great wickedness crossed his mind. He was happy in the approbation of his own conscience. Duty, justice, nay, charity and mercy, were the names under which he disguised his cruelty ; nor is it by any means improbable that the disguise imposed upon himself.<sup>1</sup>

Hill, who commanded the forces assembled at Fort William, was not intrusted with the execution of the design. He seems to have been a humane man ; he was much distressed when he learned that the government was determined on severity ; and it was probably thought that his heart might fail him in the most critical moment. He was directed to put a strong detachment under the orders of his second in command, Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton. To Hamilton a significant hint was conveyed that he had now an excellent opportunity of establishing his character in the estimation of those who were at the head of affairs. Of the troops intrusted to him a large proportion were Campbells, and belonged to a regiment lately raised by Argyle, and called by Argyle's name. It was probably thought that, on such an occasion, humanity might prove too strong for the mere habit of military obedience, and that little reliance could be placed on hearts which had not been ulcerated by a feud such as had long raged between the people of Mac Ian and the people of Mac Callum More.

Had Hamilton marched openly against the Glencoe

<sup>1</sup> See his letters quoted in the Report of 1695, and in the *Memoirs of the Massacre of Glencoe*.



men and put them to the edge of the sword, the act would probably not have wanted apologists, and most certainly would not have wanted precedents. But the Master of Stair had strongly recommended a different mode of proceeding. If the least alarm were given, the nest of robbers would be found empty; and to hunt them down in so wild a region would, even with all the help that Breadalbane and Argyle could give, be a long and difficult business. "Better," he wrote, "not meddle with them than meddle to no purpose. When the thing is resolved, let it be secret and sudden."<sup>1</sup> He was obeyed; and it was determined that the Glencoe men should perish not by military execution, but by the most dastardly and perfidious form of assassination.

On the first of February, a hundred and twenty soldiers of Argyle's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. Captain Campbell was commonly called in Scotland Glenlyon, from the pass in which his property lay. He had every qualification for the service on which he was employed: an unblushing forehead, a smooth, lying tongue, and a heart of adamant. He was also one of the few Campbells who were likely to be trusted and welcomed by the Macdonalds: for his niece was married to Alexander, the second son of Mac Ian.

The sight of the red-coats approaching caused some anxiety among the population of the valley. John, the eldest son of the chief, came, accompanied, by twenty clansmen, to meet the strangers, and asked what this visit meant. Lieutenant Lindsay answered that the soldiers came as friends, and wanted nothing but

<sup>1</sup> Report of 1695.

quarters. They were kindly received, and were lodged under the thatched roofs of the little community. Glenlyon and several of his men were taken into the house of a tacksman who was named, from the cluster of cabins over which he exercised authority, Inver-riggen. Lindsay was accommodated nearer to the abode of the old chief. Auchintriater, one of the principal men of the clan, who governed the small hamlet of Auchnaion, found room there for a party commanded by a sergeant named Barbour. Provisions were liberally supplied. There was no want of beef, which had probably fattened in distant pastures ; nor was any payment demanded ; for in hospitality, as in thievery, the Gaelic marauders rivalled the Bedouins. During twelve days the soldiers lived familiarly with the people of the glen. Old Mac Ian, who had before felt many misgivings as to the relation in which he stood to the government, seems to have been pleased with the visit. The officers passed much of their time with him and his family. The long evenings were cheerfully spent by the peat-fire with the help of some packs of cards which had found their way to that remote corner of the world, and of some French brandy which was probably part of James's farewell gift to his Highland supporters. Glenlyon appeared to be warmly attached to his niece and her husband Alexander. Every day he came to their house to take his morning draught. Meanwhile he observed with minute attention all the avenues by which, when the signal for the slaughter should be given, the Macdonalds might attempt to escape to the hills ; and he reported the result of his observations to Hamilton.

Hamilton fixed five o'clock in the morning of the

thirteenth of February for the deed. He hoped that before that time he should reach Glencoe with four hundred men, and should have stopped all the earths in which the old fox and his two cubs—so Mac Ian and his sons were nicknamed by the murderers—could take refuge. But at five precisely, whether Hamilton had arrived or not, Glenlyon was to fall on, and to slay every Macdonald under seventy.

The night was rough. Hamilton and his troops made slow progress, and were long after their time. While they were contending with the wind and snow, Glenlyon was supping and playing at cards with those whom he meant to butcher before daybreak. He and Lieutenant Lindsay had engaged themselves to dine with the old chief on the morrow.

Late in the evening, a vague suspicion that some evil was intended crossed the mind of the chief's eldest son. The soldiers were evidently in a restless state; and some of them uttered strange exclamations. Two men, it was said, were overheard whispering. "I do not like this job," one of them muttered: "I should be glad to fight the Macdonalds. But to kill men in their beds——" "We must do as we are bid," answered another voice. "If there is anything wrong, our officers must answer for it." John Macdonald was so uneasy that, soon after midnight, he went to Glenlyon's quarters. Glenlyon and his men were all up, and seemed to be getting their arms ready for action. John, much alarmed, asked what these preparations meant. Glenlyon was profuse of friendly assurances. "Some of Glengarry's people have been harrying the country. We are getting ready to march against them. You are quite safe. Do you think that, if you were in

any danger, I should not have given a hint to your brother Sandy and his wife ? ” John’s suspicions were quieted. He returned to his house and lay down to rest.

It was five in the morning. Hamilton and his men were still some miles off ; and the avenues which they were to have secured were open. But the orders which Glenlyon had received were precise ; and he began to execute them at the little village where he was himself quartered. His host Inverriggen and nine other Macdonalds were dragged out of their beds, bound hand and foot, and murdered. A boy twelve years old clung round the Captain’s legs and begged hard for life. He would do anything : he would go anywhere : he would follow Glenlyon round the world. Even Glenlyon, it was said, showed signs of relenting : but a ruffian named Drummond shot the child dead.

At Auchnaion the tacksman Auchintriater was up early that morning, and was sitting, with eight of his family, round the fire, when a volley of musketry laid him and seven of his companions dead or dying on the floor. His brother, who alone had escaped unhurt, called to Sergeant Barbour, who commanded the slayers, and asked as a favor to be allowed to die in the open air. “ Well,” said the Sergeant, “ I will do you that favor for the sake of your meat which I have eaten.” The mountaineer, bold, athletic, and favored by the darkness, came forth, rushed on the soldiers who were about to level their pieces at him, flung his plaid over their faces, and was gone in a moment.

Meanwhile Lindsay had knocked at the door of the old chief, and had asked for admission in friendly language. The door was opened. Mac Ian, while

putting on his clothes and calling to his servants to bring some refreshment for his visitors, was shot through the head. Two of his attendants were slain with him. His wife was already up, and dressed in such finery as the princesses of the rude Highland glens were accustomed to wear. The assassins pulled off her clothes and trinkets. The rings were not easily taken from her fingers : but a soldier tore them away with his teeth. She died on the following day.

The statesman to whom chiefly this great crime is to be ascribed had planned it with consummate ability : but the execution was complete in nothing but in guilt and infamy. A succession of blunders saved three-fourths of the Glencoe men from the fate of their chief. All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre Hamilton and Glenlyon possessed in perfection. But neither seems to have had much professional skill. Hamilton had arranged his plan without making allowance for bad weather, and this at a season when, in the Highlands, the weather was very likely to be bad. The consequence was that the fox-earths, as he called them, were not stopped in time. Glenlyon and his men committed the error of despatching their hosts with firearms instead of using the cold steel. The peal and flash of gun after gun gave notice, from three different parts of the valley at once, that murder was doing. From fifty cottages the half-naked peasantry fled under cover of the night to the recesses of their pathless glen. Even the sons of Mac Ian, who had been especially marked out for destruction, contrived to escape. They were roused from sleep by faithful servants. John, who, by the death of his father, had become the patriarch of the tribe, quitted his dwell-









ter, and poured forth a long lament over his murdered brethren and his desolate home. Eighty years later that sad dirge was still repeated by the population of the valley.'

The survivors might well apprehend that they had escaped the shot and the sword only to perish by famine. The whole domain was a waste. Houses, barns, furniture, implements of husbandry, herds, flocks, horses, were gone. Many months must elapse before the clan would be able to raise on its own ground the means of supporting even the most miserable existence.<sup>2</sup>

It may be thought strange that these events should not have been instantly followed by a burst of execration

<sup>1</sup> Deposition of Ronald Macdonald in the Report of 1695; Letters from the Mountaius, May 17, 1773. I quote Mrs. Grant's authority only for what she herself heard and saw. Her account of the massacre was written apparently without the assistance of books, and is grossly incorrect. Indeed, she makes a mistake of two years as to the date.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken the account of the Massacre of Glencoe chiefly from the Report of 1695, and from the *Gallienus Redivivus*. An unlearned, and indeed a learned, reader may be at a loss to guess why the Jacobites should have selected so strange a title for a pamphlet on the massacre of Glencoe. The explanation will be found in a letter of the Emperor Gallienus, preserved by Trebellius Pollio in the *Life of Ingenius*. Ingenius had raised a rebellion in Mœsia. He was defeated and killed. Gallienus ordered the whole province to be laid waste, and wrote to one of his lieutenants in language to which that of the Master of Stair bore but too much resemblance. "Non mihi satisfacies si tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis. Occidendus est quicunque maledixit. Occidendus est quicunque male voluit. Lacera. Occide. Concide."

from every part of the civilized world. The fact, however, is that years elapsed before the public indignation was thoroughly awakened, and that months elapsed before the blackest part of the story found credit even among the enemies of the government. That the massacre should not have been mentioned in the London Gazettes, in the Monthly Mercuries, which were scarcely less courtly than the Gazettes, or in pamphlets licensed by official censors, is perfectly intelligible. But that no allusion to it should be found in private journals and letters, written by persons free from all restraint, may seem extraordinary. There is not a word on the subject in Evelyn's Diary. In Narcissus Luttrell's Diary is a remarkable entry made five weeks after the butchery. The letters from Scotland, he says, described that kingdom as perfectly tranquil, except that there was still some grumbling about ecclesiastical questions. The Dutch ministers regularly reported all the Scotch news to their government. They thought it worth while, about this time, to mention that a collier had been taken by a privateer near Berwick, that the Edinburgh mail had been robbed, that a whale, with a tongue seventeen feet long and seven feet broad, had been stranded near Aberdeen. But it is not hinted in any of their despatches that there was any rumor of any extraordinary occurrence in the Highlands. Reports that some of the MacDonalds had been slain did, indeed, in about three weeks, travel through Edinburgh up to London. But these reports were vague and contradictory ; and the very worst of them was far from coming up to the horrible truth. The Whig version of the story was that the old robber Mac Ian had laid an ambuscade for



the soldiers, that he had been caught in his own snare, and that he and some of his clan had fallen sword in hand. The Jacobite version, written at Edinburgh on the twenty-third of March, appeared in the *Paris Gazette* of the seventh of April. Glenlyon, it was said, had been sent with a detachment from Argyle's regiment, under cover of darkness, to surprise the inhabitants of Glencoe, and had killed thirty-six men and boys, and four women.<sup>1</sup>

In this there was nothing very strange or shocking. A night attack on a gang of freebooters occupying a strong natural fortress may be a perfectly legitimate military operation : and, in the obscurity and confusion of such an attack, the most humane man may be so unfortunate as to shoot a woman or a child. The circumstances which give a peculiar character to the slaughter of Glencoe, the breach of faith, the breach of hospitality, the twelve days of feigned friendship and conviviality, of morning calls, of social meals, of health-drinking, of card-playing, were not mentioned by the Edinburgh correspondent of the *Paris Gazette* ; and we may therefore, confidently infer that those circumstances were as yet unknown even to inquisitive and busy malcontents residing in the Scottish capital within a hundred miles of the spot where the deed had been done. In the south of the island, the matter produced, as far as can now be judged, scarcely any sensation. To the Londoner of those days Appin was what Caffraria or Borneo is to us. He was not more moved by hearing that some Highland thieves had been surprised and killed

<sup>1</sup> What I have called the Whig version of the story is given, as well as the Jacobite version, in the *Paris Gazette* of April 7, 1692.

than we are by hearing that a band of Amakosah cattle-stealers has been cut off, or that a bark full of Malay pirates has been sunk. He took it for granted that nothing had been done in Glencoe beyond what was doing in many other glens. There might have been violence ; but it had been in a land of violence. There had been a night brawl, one of a hundred night brawls between the Macdonalds and the Campbells, and the Campbells had knocked the Macdonalds on the head.

By slow degrees the whole came out. From a letter written at Edinburgh before the end of April, it appears that the true story was already current among the Jacobites of that city. In the summer Argyle's regiment was quartered in the south of England, and some of the men made strange confessions, over their ale, about what they had been forced to do in the preceding winter. The nonjurors soon got hold of the clue, and followed it resolutely : their secret presses went to work ; and at length, near a year after the crime had been committed, it was published to the world.<sup>1</sup> But the world was long incredulous. The habitual mendacity of the Jacobite libellers had brought on them an appropriate punishment. Now, when, for the first time, they told the truth, they were supposed to be

<sup>1</sup> I believe that the circumstances which give so peculiar a character of atrocity to the Massacre of Glencoe were first published in print by Charles Leslie in the Appendix to his Answer to King. The date of Leslie's answer is 1692. But it must be remembered that the date of 1692 was then used down to what we should call the 25th of March, 1693. Leslie's book contains some remarks on a sermon by Tillotson, which was not printed till November, 1692. The *Gallienus Redivivus* speedily followed.

romancing. They complained bitterly that the story, though perfectly authentic, was regarded by the public as a factious lie.<sup>1</sup> So late as the year 1695, Hickes, in a tract in which he endeavored to defend his darling tale of the Theban legion against the unanswerable argument drawn from the silence of historians, remarked that it might well be doubted whether any historian would make mention of the massacre of Glencoe. There were in England, he said, many thousands of well-educated men who had never heard of that massacre, or who regarded it as a mere fable.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the punishment of some of the guilty began very early. Hill, who indeed can be scarcely called guilty, was much disturbed. Breadalbane, hardened as he was, felt the stings of conscience or the dread of retribution. A few days after the Macdonalds had returned to their old dwelling-place his steward visited the ruins of the house of Glencoe, and endeavored to persuade the sons of the murdered chief to sign a paper declaring that they held the Earl guiltless of the blood which had been shed. They were assured that, if they would do this, all His Lordship's great influence should be employed to obtain for them from the crown a free pardon and a remission of all forfeitures.<sup>3</sup> Glenlyon did his best to assume an air of unconcern. He made his appearance in the most fashionable coffee-house of Edinburgh, and talked loudly and self-complacently about the important service in which he had been engaged among the mountains. Some of his soldiers, however, who observed

<sup>1</sup> *Gallienus Redivivus*.

<sup>2</sup> Hickes on Burnet and Tillotson, 1695.

<sup>3</sup> Report of 1695.

him closely, whispered that all this bravery was put on. He was not the man that he had been before that night. The form of his countenance was changed. In all places, at all hours, whether he waked or slept, Glencoe was ever before him.<sup>1</sup>

But, whatever apprehensions might disturb Breadalbane, whatever spectres might haunt Glenlyon, the Master of Stair had neither fear nor remorse. He was, indeed, mortified; but he was mortified only by the blunders of Hamilton and by the escape of so many of the damnable breed. "Do right, and fear nobody"; such is the language of his letters. "Can there be a more sacred duty than to rid the country of thieving? The only thing that I regret is that any got away."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gallienus Redivivus*.

<sup>2</sup> Report of 1695.

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